

السنة الثامنة والعشرون

Saturday May 25 1996

Abkhaz D 8.50	Algeria L 2.50	Andorra FF 10	Austria S 13.50	Bahrain D 2.50	Belgium BF 60	Bulgaria L 2.50	Canada C\$ 1.00	Cyprus C\$ 1.00	Denmark DK 15	Egypt E 2.50	Finland FF 10	France FF 10	Germany D 2.50	Greece D 2.50	Hong Kong HK\$ 2.50	Hungary F 200	India Rs 25	Indonesia Rp 200	Italy L 2.50	Japan Y 100	Kenya K 2.50	Latvia L 2.50	Lithuania L 2.50	Malta M 2.50	Mexico M 2.50	Netherlands G 4.00	Norway N 10	Poland Z 2.50	Portugal P 200	Romania R 2.50	Russia R 2.50	Saudi Arabia R 10	Slovakia S 2.50	Slovenia S 2.50	Spain P 200	Sweden S 2.50	Switzerland S 3	Taiwan T 2.50	Turkey TL 100.00	USA US\$ 2.75	Zimbabwe Z\$ 2.50
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The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR
46,582

How middle England sank Paul Gambaccini

Victim of radio rage

Outlook page 15



Interview

The new Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool talks to Joanna Coles

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Athletics

Sally Gunnell returns to the fray

Sport page 9



Hogg fails to quash sacking rumours

Rebecca Smithers and Stephen Bates

THE Agriculture Minister, Douglas Hogg, fuelled speculation yesterday that John Major might sack him for failing to negotiate an end to the ban on British beef as the Government carried out its threat of a legal challenge to Europe.

Yesterday, in an interview on Today on BBC Radio 4, Mr Hogg — who has effectively been sidelined by Mr Major's decision to appoint a so-called war cabinet for the beef crisis — did nothing to dispel speculation about his precarious position. He refused to say whether he had offered to resign but said he was "not by instinct a quitter". He tacitly acknowledged his vulnerability in the expected summer reshuffle by adding: "All ministers' jobs are at the disposal of the Prime Minister and if he feels somebody else will do it better, I will accept his decision with as much grace as I can muster."

With Britain's "non co-operation" policy with the European Union in place, Euro-sceptic anger is likely to flare next week when a team of European officials arrives to check that British abattoirs are carrying out slaughter regulations correctly. Papers applying for an interim ruling to suspend the ban "in whole or in part" were lodged with the European Court of Justice, the Ministry of Agriculture said last night, adding: "The Government is still seeking to negotiate a solution, but there has been insufficient progress."

Court officials in Luxembourg said a hearing could be arranged within the next two to four weeks but it will take at least 18 months before the court delivers a final verdict. Yesterday it also emerged

Yes or no?

How Douglas Hogg answered questions about his future:

John Humphrys: Do you think there's a problem with your own position, because there seems to be no confidence in you, we're told. **Douglas Hogg:** I'm not by instinct a quitter. This is a difficult and interesting job. I like doing it and I'm very happy to go on doing it. But it's equally true that all ministers' jobs are at the disposal of the Prime Minister and if he feels someone else would do it better, then I would accept his decision with such grace as I can muster.

Humphrys: Have you offered to resign? **Hogg:** Ah, that's another matter. Isn't it?

Humphrys: Well, is it? **Hogg:** No, no, what I said to you is broadly what I've said to everyone else.

Humphrys: Well, it doesn't quite answer the question of whether you've offered to resign, does it? **Hogg:** Well, I've answered the question.

Humphrys: I didn't understand the answer. **Hogg:** Well, that's your misfortune, if you'll forgive me saying so.

Humphrys: All right, do you feel you've been sidelined? **Hogg:** No, I certainly don't think that, no...

that the European Commission president, Jacques Santer, has postponed a visit to address a meeting in Newcastle next month.

Officials said that the decision was caused by diary pressures and will be reinstated in the autumn, but it was also being said that the visit could have been inappropriate in the middle of the row over beef, even though Britain's dispute is not with

the commission but with member states.

A group of seven European experts, accompanied by Ministry of Agriculture officials and led by a Finnish vet and an Italian health ministry official, will next week arrive at premises unannounced to carry out the inspections.

After the three-day visit, which starts on Tuesday, they will send a report to Brussels which will go before the following week's agriculture ministers' council.

The inspections are likely to be decisive in determining whether the ban on beef by-products such as semen, gelatin and tallow is lifted at the council meeting on June 3 and 4, because they will show whether British beef handlers are still evading the law.

Gavin Strang, Labour's agriculture spokesman, alleged in a speech in Edinburgh yesterday that in the eight weeks to the end of March, when the BSE crisis first emerged, eight mills producing animal feed were still found to be allowing mammalian protein into the product in defiance of regulations introduced in 1982.

In Brussels it emerged that the commission has delayed launching an £8 million advertising campaign to promote beef in the wake of the crisis because it is felt that the timing would not be appropriate.

The crisis is also likely to delay the publication of a commission paper on future food policy in the EU. The paper is being redrafted in Paris because suggested market solutions to food provision — previously favoured by states like Britain — are being rethought.

The quarrel over beef may even have extended the life of the much criticised common agricultural policy. Without it and its subsidies and compensation, the entire industry across Europe could have collapsed.

Chelsea shower show, and no sun to come



Raindrops kept falling at the Chelsea Flower Show yesterday and a fountain helped to consolidate the water-logged mood

Martin Wainwright

THE drought-stricken badlands of the North basked in sunshine yesterday as upside-down weather delivered rain and a cold snap to London and the South. The logic for

moving Chelsea Flower Show to Harragote never seemed more obvious. Despite the doom-laden forecasts from the Met Office, unprecedented numbers of people drove out from London and other cities in search of warmth and Whitsum peace.

Many crawled to a halt in the Home Counties, with the RAC reporting traffic jams totalling 180 miles. "We can't understand it as the weather is so bad, but we are seeing the busiest start to a Bank Holiday for a long time," said a spokesman. "The M25 is solid,

generally gloomy late May break. Apart from hostile iso-bars, a freak flock of storm petrels was sighted off the Devon coast yesterday. The birds only fly inshore. Turn to page 3, column 3

Leader comment, page 14

Horror greets Kenya's 'miracle cure' for Aids

Chris McGreal in Nairobi

A SENIOR adviser to Kenya's president is selling a government-funded "miracle cure" for Aids which, education workers say, has set back years of safe-sex projects — the most recent funded by a £26 million World Bank grant agreed three months ago.

Professor Arthur Obel, a leading doctor and chief scientist in President Daniel arap Moi's office, launched "Pearl Omega" in March with much fanfare in the state press, the personal endorsement of Mr Moi and praise from the administration in parliament.

Since the launch, thousands of the estimated 1 million Kenyans afflicted by Aids or being HIV positive have handed over £350 for a course of Pearl Omega, which comes in a wine bottle and is 5 per cent proof.

Non-Kenyans are also among the buyers. In sub-Saharan Africa alone, 13 million people are infected with the virus. Within Kenya, about 80,000 of the sufferers are children. "We have hit a jackpot! Pearl Omega is the hottest cake in town," Prof Obel told

a Kenyan newspaper. "The government has told me to go ahead, assuring me of the full backing of the system."

The drug is made by Biodiversity, a company set up specifically for the purpose with government funds, and headed by Mr Moi's former press secretary.

Prof Obel claims secret research proves that Pearl Omega causes a reversal of Aids symptoms and can even totally rid the body of the HIV virus.

But he has refused to reveal what is in Pearl Omega, to produce anyone who has benefited from the drug, or to hold himself accountable to Kenya's professional medical organisations.

Critics say he has used powerful political connections to intimidate the medical profession into an uncorroborated silence. Mr Moi's office did not respond to requests for comment. Although a health ministry board two weeks ago banned the sale of Pearl Omega in pharmacies, Prof Obel continues to dispense it from his medical practice, where emaciated Aids sufferers pack the waiting room to turn over their savings for the supposed cure.

Millions of pounds of foreign aid, along with tons of free condoms, have been dedicated to persuading Kenyans to take Aids seriously. Britain and the World Health Organisation, through funding for Kenyan family health projects, are among the donors.

But Aids workers say they are running into increasing hostility from people who say safe sex no longer matters now that there is a cure.

Unless they can be persuaded otherwise, the health ministry's estimates that the number of Kenyans infected with HIV will have risen by 60 per cent at the end of the century, and the number of Aids orphans will double to 600,000, may be conservative.

On Tuesday, the courts are to hear an application by the Kenya Aids Society aimed at forcing Prof Obel to reveal Pearl Omega's formula, to register it as a drug and to submit it to government pricing controls.

Critics back their suspicions by pointing to his history. Six years ago, he was behind the launch of another widely hailed government-backed Aids "cure", which was taken seriously in Kenya for several years before it was finally discredited.

The Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain



The Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain (SAGB) offers information and hope to those suffering from Schizophrenia and to relatives. Write for our free information pack which includes management suggestions, helpful advice for patients and their families and information on the relevance of good nutrition.

Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain
Bryn Hyfryd, The Crescent, Bangor.
Gwynedd LL57 2AG
Telephone and fax 01248 354048

The Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain acknowledges funding from the National Lottery Charities Board UK for a campaign for raising awareness about Schizophrenia

Anne finds BBC brickbat in 'thank you' bouquet

Andrew Cull Media Correspondent

TELEVISION'S soporific sofa war came to a climax yesterday with an episode more dramatic than anything screened during the four-year ratings battle.

Anne Diamond, the £200,000-a-year queen of daytime television, renowned for her uneasy relations with colleagues and bosses, could not resist one final petulant act to mark the passing of BBC's Good Morning... with Anne and Nick.

The fit of pique was prompted by a thank you message from Alan Yentob, controller of BBC1 and the man who signed the show's death warrant. According to one insider, Ms Diamond was handed a bouquet and fax message by Nigel Chapman, head of



Anne Diamond... piqued

broadcasting at Pebble Mill, at a farewell party in Birmingham.

"She read the message and obviously did not agree with what Mr Yentob said about the programme and said: 'After what I have just read I could not possibly accept these flowers. It would be hypocritical'. Then she simply

threw the flowers down on the floor."

Mr Yentob's message had read: "A big thank you for all the professionalism and dedication over the past four years."

By the time the BBC finally admitted defeat in the ratings battle, ITV's This Morning programme, hosted by Judy Finnigan and Richard Madeley, had one million viewers more than Anne and Nick.

Earlier, Ms Diamond, with her on-screen other-half, Nick Owen, bade a dignified farewell: "It may be goodbye, but we are not going to look back, we are going to be looking at the future."

What the future actually holds for the 41-year-old presenter, known as television's Queen Bee for her apparently effortless rise from the local ATV News to TV-am's sofa and then Good Morning, is unclear.

Inside

Britain
Newcastle has rejected a series of offers to sell the stadium to a consortium of football clubs.

World News

The end of an election contest marked by violence. Americans will get their third taste of ballot-box democracy tomorrow.

Finance

Workers at Nuclear Electric are threatening to strike over fears of 600 job losses, representing half the workforce.

Sport

Reporters wishing to contact England players at their Hong Kong hotel were told every caller must give a password to be put through.

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Boy, 13, is held 'as a hostage'

Rebecca Smithers and Barbie Dutter

THE 13-year-old British boy arrested and detained for a month by the Nigerian security forces is still being held "hostage", apparently because of his father's political connections, it emerged yesterday.

The confusion surrounding John-Paul Mokuolu's plight deepened after he spent most of yesterday being questioned by the authorities in Lagos, despite having been released from detention on Thursday and reunited with his family.

The Nigerian authorities have asked to see the boy's passport and ordered him to report to them twice a week, effectively barring his return home to London where he lives with his mother.

It is unclear whether his session yesterday was one of those twice-weekly meetings or if the boy had effectively been arrested.

Graham Hand, Britain's deputy high commissioner in Lagos, said consular staff who saw John-Paul yesterday morning reported he was fit and cheerful. Intense diplomatic pressure would be brought to bear on the Nigerian authorities to allow the boy to return home.

Asked by BBC Radio 4's World at One if John-Paul was being kept as a sort of "hostage" because the authorities wanted his father, Mr Hand said: "I think that is true."

The teenager was arrested last month while visiting his father and other relatives in the west African state.

Security forces raided the house he was visiting in La-

gos on April 23, apparently to seize his father, who is believed to be related to the imprisoned former president Major-General Oluusegun Obasanjo.

John-Paul was kept under arrest in a security service building on the outskirts of Lagos in an apparent attempt to force his father, who escaped during the raid, to give himself up.

The boy was released late on Thursday and was expected to fly back to his British with his mother. But he was held in Lagos by the Nigerian authorities last night after six hours of "further questioning".

In London, Foreign Office officials said they had "serious concerns" about the boy's case, and summoned representatives from the Nigerian High Commission for an emergency meeting.

Although John-Paul was born in Britain, and is travelling on a British passport, Foreign Office officials have told his MP, Glenda Jackson, who represents Hampstead and Highgate, that they are unable to take further action to ensure his safety because of his dual nationality.

Last night Mr Jackson said: "I am deeply disturbed that despite initial reports of his release John-Paul is being prevented from leaving Nigeria. It is imperative that the British High Commission in Lagos does everything in its power to ensure John-Paul's safety."

Nigeria was suspended from the Commonwealth in November and sanctions imposed against it following the hanging of human rights activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other members of the Ogoni tribe.

Two clear thinking reformers will head the judiciary but, judges predict, life will be no less hard for the Home Secretary



Sir Thomas Bingham

MICHAEL Howard, still smarting from a savage attack on his sentencing policy by the outgoing Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, would not get an easier ride from his successor, Sir Thomas Bingham, senior law lords and judges predicted.

Downing Street confirmed yesterday that Sir Thomas would take over the top job in the English judiciary on June 4, with his job as Master of the Rolls going to Lord Woolf.

The moves follow Lord

Taylor's enforced retirement through ill health. They will place two of Britain's most open-minded judges at the apex of the judicial hierarchy. Both are clear-thinking reformers untrammelled by the conservative mind-set which has traditionally frustrated attempts at reform.

Sir Thomas, aged 62, lacks Lord Taylor's lifetime of experience in the criminal courts, a disadvantage in the job's main function of overseeing the criminal appeal system. But he is expected quickly to master a job described yesterday by Lord Donaldson, his predecessor as Master of the Rolls, as a bed of nails.

Sir Thomas has never contended with the Home Secretary's proposals for minimum sentences and extending mandatory life sentences, resisted so robustly by Lord Taylor. Sir Thomas has not been an outspoken critic so far - unlike some judges he has no constitutional objections - but few doubt he will play a key part in trying to defeat any bill which results.

Sir Thomas expressed "enormous regret" yesterday that Lord Taylor, who has cancer, had to retire in such unhappy circumstances. He added: "I think all one can hope to do is to do one's best to build on the wonderful foundations he has laid."

On several occasions Lord Taylor has won significant concessions from the Home Office by going public with his concerns. Sir Thomas, a less outgoing character, is expected to adopt a lower profile, while still defending the judges' corner.

Lord Donaldson said: "Lord Taylor came in after a period of total silence, compounded by Michael Howard's absolutely amazing proposals. Now we've got a sort of hot-

house going on. Sir Thomas may think the time has come to cool it and try to ensure the public is better informed."

The battle between the judges and the executive is unlikely to end if Labour wins the general election. The shadow lord chancellor, Lord Irvine of Lairg, is a QC with his own views on the subject. He has never been a judge, has none of Lord Mackay's instinct to protect the judges, and is a staunch defender of parliamentary sovereignty.

Lord Woolf, aged 63, is a judicial activist championing judges' right to make law through cases.

Lord Irvine warned the judges about the danger of getting above themselves in a recent speech - a warning which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, has so far refused to comment on.

Both Lord Woolf and Sir Thomas have long supported incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into English law. Labour is committed to the task, though it will master a final blueprint in July for the biggest reform of the civil justice system this century, cutting the cost, complexity and delays which bedevil it.

Ill-informed public pose problem for judiciary in row with ministers over sentencing policy

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

THE public believe judges are too soft on criminals - but they also greatly underestimate how often courts send people to prison, according to new research.

Half the public think at most 50 per cent of convicted rapists are sent to prison, whereas 91 per cent are jailed, according to a study by Mike Hough of South Bank University, London.

The findings suggest that if the judiciary are to win their battle with Home Secretary Michael Howard over the introduction of mandatory minimum sentences for persistent criminals, they face a task in educating the public about the extent to which they now jail criminals.

The scale of that task is underlined by the other findings of Professor Hough's study:

- That half the public think only 20 per cent of burglars go to prison. In fact 41 per cent are jailed.
- That half think only 20 per cent of muggers go to prison, when well over 50 per cent are jailed.

"The public are really pretty cynical about sentencing," said Prof Hough. "If you ask whether sentencers are 'out of touch' then many say 'yes, they are out of touch' and a large minority say they are 'deeply out of touch'. They considerably underestimate the use of imprisonment."

The research was endorsed yesterday by a retired appeal court judge, Sir Frederick Lawton, who pinpointed the understandable media practice of only reporting cases in which sentences were unduly harsh or lenient as the root cause of the public's misunderstanding.

The row whether the courts are too soft rumbled on yesterday with the Prime Minister's endorsement of Mr Howard's claim that minimum sentences for persistent criminals were needed to make Britain's streets safer for ordinary citizens.

Clamper immobilised by guilt leaves job

Stuart Miller

STEVE Slack is enough to restore your faith in human nature. Just three weeks after starting his job as a wheel clamper he has walked away from earnings of

up to £20,000 a year because he has too kind-hearted to do his job properly.

He left his job at International Security, in Southampton, and back into unemployment after the guilt got too much.

For a basic salary of £7,800,

he was expected to clamp at least one month, with monthly bonuses for additional vehicles.

"I was basically told that I could be expecting to earn about £20,000 a year if I worked hard at it," he said, "but I just wasn't the type for it."

Bottomley 'annoyed' by 'elitist' grants

Dan Gleister

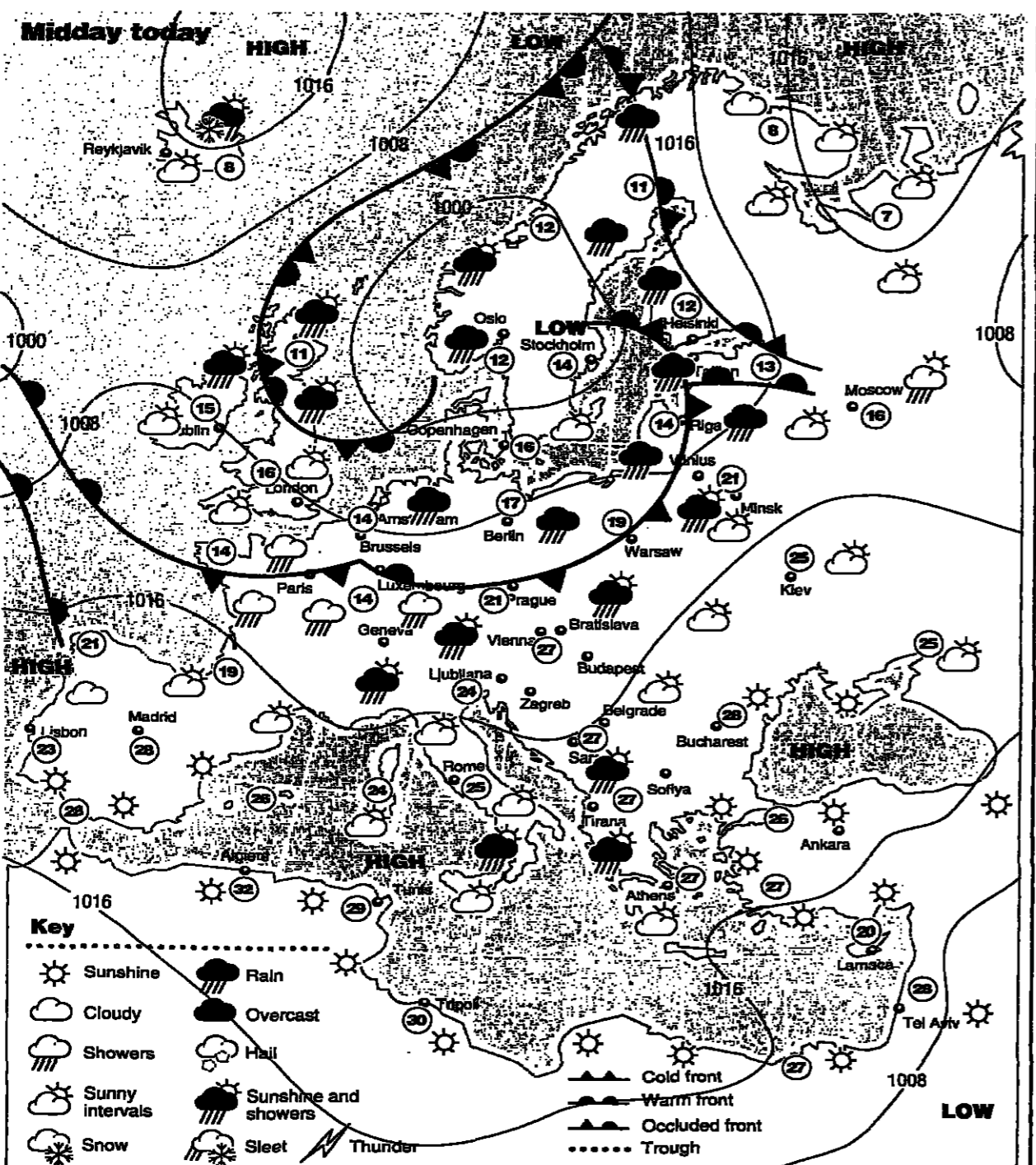
THE National Heritage Secretary, Virginia Bottomley, was yesterday reported to have been critical of the "elitist" distribution of National Lottery grants by the Arts

Council chairman, Lord Gorelick. Rumours were reported to have circulated in Whitehall that the two had "fallen out".

On Thursday it was announced that the Royal Academy for Dramatic Arts had received £22 million of Lottery

money. Mrs Bottomley was said to have been "very upset" about the £50 million award to the Royal Opera House, describing it as "insensitive". She was also said to have been "concerned" about a grant of £31.6 million to the Royal National Theatre.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities

City	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	23 16	24 16
Amman	23 16	24 16
Athens	27 13	28 14
Bahia	18 9	17 8
Bangkok	18 10	17 8
Bombay	18 10	17 8
Buenos Aires	16 10	17 8
Calcutta	16 10	17 8
Cairo	23 16	24 16
Canton	18 10	17 8
Chongqing	18 10	17 8
Columbo	18 10	17 8
Hankow	18 10	17 8
Harbin	18 10	17 8
Hong Kong	18 10	17 8
Kobe	18 10	17 8
London	18 10	17 8
Lyons	18 10	17 8
Manila	18 10	17 8
Medan	18 10	17 8
Osaka	18 10	17 8
Paris	18 10	17 8
Rangoon	18 10	17 8
Seoul	18 10	17 8
Singapore	18 10	17 8
Taipei	18 10	17 8
Tientsin	18 10	17 8
Yokohama	18 10	17 8

Around the world

City	Today	Tomorrow
Algeria	23 16	24 16
Amman	23 16	24 16
Athens	27 13	28 14
Bahia	18 9	17 8
Bangkok	18 10	17 8
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Manila	18 10	17 8
Medan	18 10	17 8
Osaka	18 10	17 8
Paris	18 10	17 8
Rangoon	18 10	17 8
Seoul	18 10	17 8
Singapore	18 10	17 8
Taipei	18 10	17 8
Tientsin	18 10	17 8
Yokohama	18 10	17 8

European weather outlook

Scandinavia: A complex low pressure area covers Scandinavia. Most areas will have a cool unsettled day with cloudy skies and outbreaks of rain, heavy in places. But the Norwegian coast, Denmark and southern Sweden should have sunny spells, while northern Finland should stay dry all day. Max temp ranging from 8C in the north to 16C in Denmark. Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland:

A south-westerly airflow covers the region with slow-moving fronts bringing further outbreaks of rain which will be heavy at times. Northern Germany may escape most of the rain, while Benelux and western Germany become dry later on. Parts of Austria will be humid and thundery. Max temps between 15C in the wettest areas and 27C in eastern Austria.

France: A weak cold front will bring rain at times to the east and north, especially at first, but the west and south should become drier and brighter during the day. Max temps between 15C and 22C.

Iberia and Portugal: A built of high pressure covers Iberia, maintaining the settled weather. Most places will be warm and sunny all day, although north-west Spain may be cloudy at times. Max temps 22-27C.

Italy: Pressure is almost uniform over the country, and today will bring sunny spells and scattered thundery showers, chiefly over the hills. Max temps between 22C and 28C.

Greece: A ridge of high pressure should maintain the warm sunny weather over most parts, but heavy showers and thunderstorms are possible this afternoon in the west. Max temps 23-28C.

Television and radio - Saturday

BBC 1

8.00am News, 8.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00am The Day After Tomorrow.

BBC 2

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BBC 3

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BBC 4

8.00am News, 8.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00am The Day After Tomorrow.

BBC 5

8.00am News, 8.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00am The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30am The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 1.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 2.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 3.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 4.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 5.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 6.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 7.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 8.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 9.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 10.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.00pm The Day After Tomorrow, 11.30pm The Day After Tomorrow, 12.00am The Day After Tomorrow.

BBC World

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Radio 4

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Rifkind throws hat into ring

Rebecca Smithers
Political Correspondent

The Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, was the latest Cabinet hopeful to launch an unabashed bid for the leadership of the Conservative Party yesterday, with a rare speech on domestic policy in which he set out the challenges facing the Tories over the next 10 years.

Having declared a right-wing agenda on Europe this week through Britain's handling of the beef crisis, Mr Rifkind yesterday went beyond his own policy area, calling for a radical shift away from public provision towards the private sector for health, education and welfare.

In what was described by his aides as a "philosophical and reflective" speech on the long-term direction of Conservative social policy, he admitted that cuts in health and education would be sensitive but said they were essential if the public sector was to be reduced in size.

"As a party, we believe in the freedom of the individual and the acceptance of individual responsibility. That means in fiscal terms that we should always be looking to reduce the burden of taxation when it is fiscally prudent."

Mr Rifkind's speech to members of the Tory Reform Group was a lecture in memory of the late Tory MP Alick Buchanan-Smith, which had been arranged some time ago. But at Westminster it was immediately seized upon as the

latest challenge for the Conservative leadership, coming just days after speeches by rival contenders, the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, and the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell.

Mr Rifkind said that in the National Health Service, there should be a relentless search for efficiency savings by cutting out unnecessary administration and ensuring that doctors focus on proven treatments.

And following the introduction of nursery vouchers, there had to be a further examination of the public and private mix in the provision of education.

Mr Rifkind deliberately avoided the question of protection tax cuts, and admitted that "achieving lower taxation is going to be even more difficult in today's society because we have grown used to the constant cry that something must be done to remedy any failure and it should be the Government that does it."

His comments are likely to cheer Tory right-wingers who have been pressing for spending cuts in order to reduce taxes.

Just a day after he accused Tony Blair of undermining the Government's efforts to get the worldwide ban on British beef lifted, Mr Rifkind said: "Labour is Labour even in a sharp suit. New Labour are as much a threat to Scotland and the United Kingdom as the dinosaur which sired them."

"It is not our job to make Labour safe for Britain, it is our task to make this dinosaur extinct."



The scene outside the crematorium in Lewisham, south London, yesterday at the funeral of veteran anarchist Albert Meltzer

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN SMITH

'And when I die, don't send me flowers . . .'

Just ask what the boys in the back room will have — and let's all have a good laugh. Gary Younge on an anarchist's last rites

TO FOLLOW Albert Meltzer, one of the most passionate figureheads of the anarchist movement, to his final resting place yesterday, you need only have followed the black and red stars that lined the roads from the aptly named Celestial Gardens to the local crematorium in Lewisham, south London.

Glistening in the rain, they stood proudly on the lapels and earlobes of the mourners, all in black and with ponytails a plenty, who braved the weather to walk behind the horse-drawn funeral procession to the sounds of the Bill Stacks Southern Ragga Jazz Band.

From the elderly veterans of the Spanish civil war in their black berets to the young white rastas in their 18-hole Doc Martens boots, the only part of the community that seemed to be missing were the scruffy dogs that they lead around on strings.

During his life, Meltzer's various jobs — fundraiser, promoter, warehouseman and copytaker for the Daily Tele-

graph, to mention but a few — served only as a sideline for his passionate adherence to his own brand of anarcho-syndicalism which he had pursued in a number of guises since the age of 15.

He had fought Mosley's blackshirts in Cable Street, shipped arms to the republican resistance during the civil war, and helped anti-Nazi forces in pre-war Germany.

Before his death, at the age of 75, he had made specific plans for the type of send-off he thought would do him justice.

"Personally I want to die in dignity but have my passing celebrated with jollity. I've told my executors that I want a stand-up comedian in the pulpit telling amusing anecdotes, and the coffin to slide into the incinerator to the sound of Marlene Dietrich," were his last requests.

He would not have been disappointed. After a few gasps from the stand-up comedian Noel James, the coffin was whisked away, accompanied

by Dietrich singing See What The Boys In The Back Room Will Have.

Then came a powerful song, They Called Me Al, by David Campbell, followed by a two-minute video which simply showed Meltzer laughing uncontrollably as someone attempted to interview him.

The congregation followed suit, but by the time they left the crematorium some were reduced to tears, a state of affairs that Meltzer had forebade. "Anyone mourning should be denounced as the representative of a credit card company and thrown out on their ear," he wrote.

In the end that was not necessary as those assembled climbed into two hired coaches and were taken away for an afternoon of "jovial remembrance".

But as they left to drink a toast to the man who had been so resolute in all things political, Meltzer had put a question mark over the fate of his soul.

He wrote: "If I have miscalculated . . . and there really is a God, I'd like to feel if he's got any sense of humour or feeling for humanity, there's nobody he would sooner have in heaven than people like me. And if he hasn't, who wants in?"

Road rage appeal lifts police hopes of catching killer

Stuart Miller

POLICE are hoping for a breakthrough this weekend in the hunt for the road rage killer of Steve Cameron after thousands of callers responded to an emotional television appeal by the dead man's fiancée.

More than 200 calls were received in the two hours after Thursday's BBC Crimewatch UK programme alone. Kent police said the response had been extraordinary. Some names given to police were mentioned more than once.

"The information will be sifted by more than 20 officers this weekend. This is a very long and laborious process, but it has to be done because we are determined that we are going to get him," said a spokeswoman.

"We hope there will be new lines of inquiry from the information we have been given and that we will solve this sooner rather than later."

Mr Cameron, aged 21, was stabbed to death on Sunday at

the Swanley intersection of the M25 by the driver of an L-registration Land Rover Discovery. His fiancée, Danielle Cable, aged 17, who saw the killing, appealed for witnesses to come forward.

One setback for detectives is that there are nearly 18,000 L-registration Discoveries in Britain and not the 1,000 they first thought.

Police are convinced that somebody is shielding the killer.

Detective Superintendent John Grace said some callers were giving good information, but the calls were taking a long time to work through.

The driver of the Land Rover is described as in his late thirties to early fifties, 5ft 10in, medium build, with dark greying hair. The murder incident room telephone number is 01322 283170.

● Ronald Francis, a 73-year-old war veteran from West Sussex, was assaulted by three young men in Fortis month yesterday after they mistook his wave of thanks for giving him right of way as a two-finger gesture.

Traffic jams but not much sunshine for bank holiday

continued from page 1 on the approach of rough weather.

The flock of 127 taking refuge in Plymouth Sound is the largest recorded in the area.

Flights of a different kind were meanwhile helping to cope with a last-minute rush to the sun, on the Continent and beyond, by some 1,500,000 Britons.

On Monday, record numbers of travellers are expected on Eurostar services, breaking the Channel Tunnel's Easter total of 20,000 passengers in one day.

One weather expert, BBC Five Live's Phillip Eden, said Britain was heading for its third coldest May this century, with only those of 1902 and 1941 proving chillier.

But the Meteorological Office offered some hope of improved weather by Monday.

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On the face of it, the convict trade makes good sense. Why should cells stand empty while inmates in states like Arizona and New Jersey languish in tents?

Ian Katz, Outlook Front

Police arrest 20 suspected ringleaders • Images of 200 wanted men captured on film of Newcastle rampage

Raids herald crackdown on Euro 96 hooligans

Peter Hetherington

POLICE are planning a further crackdown on hundreds of soccer hooligans to prevent violence during the European football championships after a series of dawn raids in the North-east yesterday.

Twenty suspected ringleaders of a Newcastle group called the Gremmins were arrested after police burst into 25 houses in Tyneside and Durham and Northumbria Police will next week release photographs of 200 other wanted men filmed on closed circuit television cameras.

They were at the centre of rioting three weeks ago when almost 1,000 fans rampaged through Newcastle after the last match of the season.

Police said they had gained valuable information on organised networks apparently bent on disrupting Euro 96, which begins in two weeks and lasts for much of June.

Their tactic is to continue arrests in the hope of removing potential troublemakers from the tournament — to be staged in Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham and London — and by urging strict bail conditions. Other forces are considering similar action.

Racist and hooligan literature seized in yesterday's raids, codenamed Operation Harvest — as well as a small arsenal of weapons from machetes to imitation firearms — will be passed to the football unit of the National Criminal Intelligence Service, which has established links with European police forces.



Weapons seized during raids in the North-east yesterday when 20 suspected soccer hooligans were arrested

Villa Park, Wembley, Old Trafford and Nottingham's City Ground have been highlighted as potential flash-points. More than 10,000 Turks are likely to arrive in Nottingham without tickets.

Alan Oliver, an assistant chief constable in Northumbria, said yesterday that material seized in yesterday's raids revealed a high level of organisation among suspected hooligan groups. The potential for violence away from stadiums during the

championships was "very worrying".

Northumbria officers have already obtained copies of calling cards from the Gremmins, based in the North-east. These state: "Euro 96, Newcastle back on the map — Gremmins the new batch."

They have also been told that a group from Sunderland, the Seaburn Casuals, has been placing posters in pubs saying they are "looking for blood" during the championships.

The Home Secretary Michael Howard said yesterday's raids were a tribute to the effectiveness of closed circuit television (CCTV). Newcastle boasts the most extensive CCTV network in the country, installed four years ago.

Superintendent Peter Durham, who co-ordinated the raids and chairs a national committee of senior officers preparing for Euro 96, said he would not be satisfied until many more were arrested.

"We have identified 200 responsible for a range of offences from violent disorder to theft and criminal damage," he added. "We will be asking people to identify them from photographs (to be released next week)."



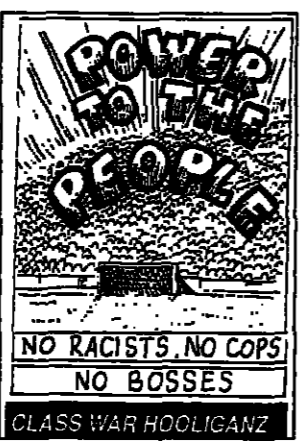
United they stand... Bradford City chairman Geoffrey Richmond with Mohammed Aurangzeb of the Asian supporters' club and mosque president Khadim Hussein after midday prayers at the mosque yesterday

Anarchists plan football violence against racists and fascists

John Duncan Sports Correspondent

THE anarchist group Class War warned yesterday that it was planning to attack racists and fascists during the Euro 96 soccer tournament.

"For too long football hooliganism has been seen to be the preserve of the Nazis," said Dave Clark, spokesman for Class War. "With the contacts we have we can unite black and some white footy fans against the stupid racist Nazis. In Britain and Europe we have been monitoring the Nazis and we will take part in



Class War stickers for Euro 96: 'For too long football hooliganism has been seen to be the preserve of the Nazis'

any activities necessary to prevent their influence spreading."

Class War Hooliganz have started their campaign under the slogan Hooliganz with Attitude and have distributed 10,000 stickers to promote their Euro 96 campaign. The



Class War stickers for Euro 96: 'For too long football hooliganism has been seen to be the preserve of the Nazis'

stickers include the slogans "Hooligans slap racists and Nazis", "The only good racist is a dead one" and "Power to the people: No racists, no cops, no bosses".

Mr Clark said: "We welcome ordinary working class footy fans, but the European

and British Nazis had better stay away if they know what is good for them."

But Class War's stance was rejected by leading anti-racist campaigners in football. Kevin Miles, one of the figures behind the video Show Racism the Red Card, released today, said: "The danger is that this sort of thing plays into the hands of people in authority who want to see racism as a public order issue on a par with spitting or bad language. They just see the battle against racism as a battle between two sets of thugs, which it isn't."

"There aren't many hard core racists operating but there are plenty around them who are up for a ruck. If you set things like this up you are in danger of putting petrol on the flames, of helping the Nazis attract followers."

Mosques and churches echo high hopes of Bradford's faithful football fans for vital Wembley win

Martin Wainwright

THE graceful Urdu blessings of Imam Mohammed Basir Tahil were punctuated at Friday prayers in Bradford yesterday by the unexpected words "Bradford City", "Wembley" and "First Division".

Before 300 white-capped worshippers in the former Anglican church in Manningham, the imam added Muslim morale-boosting to an inter-faith experiment in "pray as you play".

Religious leaders in the West Yorkshire city have joined forces to test the power of faith against the

skills of Notts County in tomorrow's play-off for promotion to Division One. Christians, Muslims and other faiths will focus their minds on Wembley during the match, after ceremonies yesterday and tomorrow.

"It should be worth a one goal start at least," said City's chairman Geoffrey Richmond, sitting shoeless on the carpet of Victor Street mosque, only yards from the scene of last summer's riots. "This marvellous gesture will do a lot for the players' morale."

At 6.30am tomorrow, a Pentecost communion will be held in the cathedral — allowing time for Provost John Robertson and other clerical fans to catch supporters' coaches to London. Mr Robertson said: "This is an excellent way of expressing the city's unity."

His sentiments were echoed by mosque president Khadim Hussein, who said: "Football is very popular among our young people. They really want City to get into the big league."

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There weren't many perks for those who lived in the Bury St. Edmunds monastery in the 13th century.

For ten hours a day, they were on their knees in prayer — but in the evening, they were allowed eight pints of the Abbot's Ale (which presumably had a similar effect on them).

The ale was brewed in the monastery with natural spring water drawn from its own well.

Today we're still drawing water from the same source for our own Abbot Ale.

And while most other beers are fermented for just three or four days, Abbot is fermented slowly for a full seven ('Blessed by the Sabbath') to give it a rich, deep flavour.

Many have declared Abbot Ale to be one of the finest real ales you can buy. Which, frankly, is a bigger boost for our egos than any flash car could provide.

ABBOT ALE
FROM GREENE-KING

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

'Obsessed' killer to be detained for life after shooting rampage

Vivek Chaudhary

A FORMER civil servant who was obsessed with the devil and Hungerford mass killer Michael Ryan was yesterday ordered to be detained at a secure mental unit for life after going on a shooting spree, killing one man and wounding 16 others.

Robert Sartin went on the rampage in Monkseaton on Tyne-side in April 1989 but his case took more than seven years to resolve because he was considered unfit to plead at the time.

Durham crown court heard yesterday that since the shootings Sartin, of Whitley Bay, north Tyne-side, has been treated at Ashworth Hospital on Merseyside, to which he has now returned.

Sartin, aged 22 at the time of the shootings, was charged with murdering British Telecom manager Ken Mackintosh and attempting to murder 16 others.

As each charge was read out to him, he replied: "Not guilty by virtue of insanity."



A police officer stands guard over the body of Ken Mackintosh in a Monkseaton street

David Robson, QC, told the court that Sartin left his home on April 30, 1989, armed with his father's double-barrelled shotgun and drove to Monkseaton.

First he shot Judith Rhodes, aged 43, who was driving along the road. He then shot five others before coming across Mr Mackintosh, who was walking home from church.

Sartin shot him with both barrels from a distance of 20 yards and then blasted him from a closer range.

Robert Wilson, aged 39, who stepped out from his home after hearing the shooting, was also shot.

The final victim was an elderly woman, who was working in her front garden.

Sartin was arrested after an unarmed police constable fol-

lowed him into a pub car park. He was found to be carrying a knife and an ammunition belt with five cartridges.

Ordering that Sartin spend the rest of his life in a secure unit, Mr Justice Kennedy told him: "There is no question that this tragedy came about because you were, as you remain, a gravely ill man."

He ordered Sartin be "detained without limit of time".

An apology from Sartin was read out in court. "What I want my victims and the family of Mr Mackintosh to know is that their awful pain was not the result of a planned or intended crime and there was no pleasure involved."

It was completely the product of a mental illness so severe that reality was taken over by insanity.

He concluded: "I am so very sorry."

The court heard that as a youth, Sartin was fascinated by the devil and serial killers. According to reports, he once went on a "pilgrimage" to Hungerford, scene of the 1987 massacre.

Marian Swan, a psychiatrist, said after the hearing that Sartin suffered from a major psychotic illness, a form of schizophrenia.

She said the shootings came during a "short period of absolute insanity" and that Sartin had remained extremely unwell ever since.

Dr Swan added that while at Ashworth Hospital, Sartin had become distressed about the shootings in Dunblane and in Tasmania.



Shotgun killer Robert Sartin: considered unfit to plead for seven years

Schoolboy fascinated by occult, collecting and 'torturing the cat'

Vivek Chaudhary

ROBERT Sartin once listed his interests while at school as "shooting, reading, collecting things to do with the occult and torturing the cat."

A former teacher said he was interested in Satan, and once, during a religious education examination, he only wrote about satanic rituals.

"The problems also surfaced in English and art... his drawings were often based on popular films where the sado-masochistic emphasis was heavy," said the teacher.

After being referred to the Child Guidance Service in 1982, and seen by a psychologist, he wrote a letter of apology to his teachers. His parents confiscated all his satanist books and burned his associated drawings. During his last two years as a pupil, he was as "reclusive as possible", said the teacher. "His personality was neither offensive nor notably weak, just,

most of the time, neutral. "The most striking thing I remember about him at this stage was that it took the perverse, the obscene and the twisted to animate his interest in producing art work".

After getting poor exam results, Sartin became the assistant caretaker at his school in Whitley Bay before getting a job as a Department of Social Security clerk in 1986.

Psychiatrists were concerned about Sartin's behaviour even while he was still at school. Once, after a family holiday on the South Coast, Sartin persuaded his father to divert to Hungerford, Berkshire, where Michael Ryan shot dead 15 people before killing himself. Sartin went on an overnight pilgrimage around the sites where Ryan carried out his shootings.

Despite knowing of their son's troubled history, Sartin's parents expressed shock when they learned of his shooting spree in Monkseaton.

Father fights deportation

Geoffrey Gibbs

A CHINESE who has lived in Cornwall for 17 years is about to be separated from his British wife and British-born daughter and deported to Hong Kong because the Home Office refuses to recognise him as a special case.

Hing Fai "Albert" Tong overstayed his visitor's visa in 1979 and married his wife, Becky, in 1982, after the Home Office had started deportation moves. But the couple have been living together since 1983 and deny that it was a marriage of convenience.

Mr Tong, now 43, came to Britain to see his younger brother in Manchester. He travelled to Cornwall with a friend where he met Becky's family and settled in the former tin mining town. His friendship with Becky — 20 years his junior and then aged only seven — grew over the years until they began living together when she was 17. Their case has aroused strong support in Camborne where 1,000 people have signed a petition backing Mr Tong. Mrs Tong is awaiting a cataract operation and their daughter, Monica, aged 3, is distraught at the prospect of losing her father.

"She was enjoying nursery but now she screams for her daddy," said Mrs Tong. "She is very, very wary of strangers who come to the house now. She sticks by Albert and is scared to let him out of her sight. Monica and I can't go to Hong Kong. We are British citizens and when China

takes over next year they will be trying to get rid of people born in different countries."

Barring a last-minute change of mind by the Home Office, however, Mr Tong will be deported from Heathrow next Wednesday. A lengthy tussle in the courts ended earlier this month when the Court of Appeal ruled that the deportation order was not open to judicial review. Solicitors are preparing to take the case to the European Court of Human Rights and are working to persuade the Home Office to allow Mr Tong to stay pending a hearing.

Sebastian Coe, Tory MP for Falmouth and Camborne, told the family last week that the Home Office was not prepared to reconsider its decision. But the case has been taken up by Matthew Taylor, Liberal Democrat MP for the neighbouring Truro constituency and in Europe by Robin Teverson, Liberal Democrat MEP for Cornwall and West Plymouth.

Mr Teverson said he was raising the issue because of concern that the deportation was breaking up a family. "For a Government that is talking about family values all the time they are splitting up a British family under circumstances where it is less and less likely to be able to get back together again."

David Mudd, the former MP for Falmouth and Camborne, said: "There is still a ray of hope. While the Home Office has undoubtedly won the case there is still a question of whether it has the duty or the discretion to effect the deportation."

Labour rebel councillors form plan to launch their own party

Barbale Duttler

REBEL Labour councillors who were expelled from the party last year after forming a breakaway faction are planning to launch an alternative party and field candidates in the general election.

A number of the 15 Walsall councillors who were expelled in December over

claims that they operated a "party within a party" hope to launch their Democratic Labour Party in June.

One of those behind the move is the former mayor, Cyril Leaker. The formation of the party would bring a third Labour party into the political arena, following the launch of Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party on May 1.

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6 WORLD NEWS

Police plan 'ethnic database'

Paul Webster in Paris

CONCERN is growing inside France's national commission on electronic data and freedom about police plans to create a super-database pooling details of the ethnic origins and political views of anyone detained by the police.

According to sources in the commission (the CNIL), police want to combine up to 30 computerised personal data banks, giving them access to intimate details on any person who at any time had been held in custody, whether the person was charged or not. These would be kept on record for up to 50 years, even if an accused was set free or acquitted.

French police already carry out random identity checks and searches, under measures introduced in 1983. Failure to produce official identity papers results in automatic police custody until proof is produced.

During last year's terrorist attacks, hundreds of thousands of people were stopped for questioning and several thousand were held until their identity had been confirmed. The controls enabled police to deport hundreds of illegal immigrants.

Police cars are equipped with computer terminals which allow instant access to some data banks which have been particularly effective in arresting illegal immigrants. Under new powers being discussed by the interior ministry, restricted police files

would also be open to the special branch and the secret services, which would contribute their own classified data on political views, friendships and international contacts.

The interior ministry has submitted plans to create new detailed files which would be accessible to police. A master file, linked to other computerised sources of information and updated from manually-kept files, would identify about a dozen ethnic types, some of which would be subdivided by colour nuances.

The master file would include details of accents and a vague area linked to acquaintances and personal life. This is intended to get round a 1993 socialist government proposal, opposed by the CNIL, to allow police to put political and religious opinions on a master file.

Human rights organisations, including the League of Human Rights, are understood to be pressing for public disclosure of the proposals, after reports that police are already abusing restrictions on computerised information by amassing confidential information. Lawyers in Paris and Marseille have recently asked for government action on specific cases.

Police files based on ethnic information have been a sensitive and emotional issue since the second world war, when French police made a detailed census of more than 300,000 Jews. The files were used by French and German security forces in round-ups which led to the murder of 75,000 people in Nazi camps.



Tears of war... A Russian soldier mourns a colleague killed in the wreckage of an armoured vehicle that was attacked by Chechen rebels in Vedeno. President Boris Yeltsin yesterday confirmed he will meet the rebel leader, Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, for talks on Monday. PHOTOGRAPH: YURI KOCHETOV

Tirana leader warns of past

Helena Smith in Athens

AT THE end of an election contest marked by violence and accusations of skulduggery and dirty tricks, Albanians will get their third taste of ballot-box democracy tomorrow.

Throughout the campaign, Dr Sali Berisha, the cardiologist-turned-president, has appealed to Albanians not to let their country slip back into communism by following the pattern established in other east European nations.

Yesterday, the conservative leader was expected to warn the electorate against repeating the perils of the past at a mass rally held in the central square of Tirana, the capital.

Until Albania's emergence from 45 years of Stalinist isolation in 1991, the square was dominated by the bronze features of Enver Hoxha - the late dictator whose ruthless rule is widely blamed for the country's present woes.

But the president's message could fall on deaf ears. In recent days polls have suggested the opposition Socialists are closing the gap on Dr Berisha's ruling Democratic Party, despite the leader's warnings that a conservative defeat would kill off reforms and European integration.

The apparent drop in support for the Democrats is linked as much to the public's mounting desire for the social security blanket of the past, as with criticism of its leader.

Dr Berisha, aged 51, has come under attack for his authoritarian manner. Critics claim the Democrats, who won a landslide victory in 1992, have shamelessly sought votes through crude manipulation of the electoral law and heavy-handed control of the courts and media.

Since Dr Berisha's failed attempt to enhance his presidential powers in a constitutional referendum two years ago, opponents have accused him of emulating Hoxha - whose doctor he was - by running a police state.

The refusal to release Fatos Nano, the Socialist Party leader jailed on questionable corruption charges two years ago - despite appeals by human rights groups - has added to claims of injustice.

Earlier this week Socialist Party campaigners clashed with riot police apparently intent on disrupting opposition gatherings.

"In many towns and villages, legal activities, especially of the opposition, have been hampered," a human rights worker said. "There has been far too much interference by the police."

No one expects any of the 22 parties contesting the race for a place in the 140-seat parliament to win an outright majority in the first round. Fears are mounting that the ballot will be rigged when Albania's 2.2 million voters go to the polls for the second and decisive round on June 2.

Telekom snarl-up leaves media speechless

Ian Traynor reports from Bonn on a society with antiquated consumer services in which the customer is always wrong

THE fax machine purred into action and disgorged its message: Deutsche Telekom, the national telephone company, issuing an invitation to its annual ahndig and a

drink with the bosses. Then, without warning, the line in the Guardian's Bonn office went dead. And the telephone line. And the computer line.

A newspaper office without a telephone is an orphan, helpless and lonely. Battle had to be joined to restore the umbilical cord to mother in London. But this is Germany in 1996 where service, if it

comes at all, comes with a snarl.

One evening this week in the food hall of the biggest department store in Bonn, a shopper stood hoping to buy fish for 20 minutes before a grudging sales assistant manned the counter.

In the banks, where client confidentiality in routine daily transactions is thoroughly alien, there is minimal attempt to sell banking services, rather the assumption that they are doing the tiresome customer a favour by condescending to handle his money. And charging for it, of course. Banking a British cheque for £140 last month saw the customer's account credited with £109, a 22 per cent fee for processing the cheque.

The motorway service stations are a throwback to 1970s Britain. A motorist arriving recently from Austria had still to change money and had only Austrian schillings. There was no exchange office, but before joining the queue for lunch, he checked he could pay with schillings. The sign said this was "in order". When he got to the till, the woman demanded a surcharge costing almost half as much again as the food.

Converted into Austrian currency from marks, the food cost 210 schillings, but she would accept only 100-schilling notes, and so the bill had gone up to 300. A 10-minute row followed. She was immovable. The government constantly berates the public for being "inflexible". It was all the customer's fault.

politicians even suggest that the occasional snarl might help to boost what must be the most underdeveloped service sector among the big Western economies.

Parliament, after more than a year of agonised navel-gazing, still cannot decide on longer and more flexible shop-opening times, fashioning a constitutional crisis out of the small matter of perhaps being able to buy a loaf of bread on a Saturday afternoon.

In the saga of Deutsche Telekom and the Guardian's incommunicado condition, the lines were eventually restored, but only after two days of alternating polite entreaties and irate demands progressively moving up the command hierarchy.

It could have been worse. It could have happened before Deutsche Telekom launched its corporate charm offensive last year, with the new chairman, Ron Sommer, boasting: "We want to become the most customer-friendly company on the global telecommunications market."

The crisis arose because the subscriber had requested an extra service in the billing procedure. This required forms filled out in triplicate, signed faxes confirming the application. As a result, the Guardian was left speechless, faxless, expelled from the Infobahn. The explanation: the subscriber was told he had asked for the lines to be cut. It's obvious, it was all the customer's fault.

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Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

A chasm hidden beneath the gloss

The personal imagery marking the campaigns for Wednesday's Israeli polls conceals a huge ideological gulf, Derek Brown in Jerusalem writes

ONE candidate promises peace with security. The other pledges that security comes first, along with a commitment to peace. Little wonder that voters and pundits alike are saying that this is an election without choice. They are wrong. The campaign may be lacklustre but the outcome is critical to the country and to the region. The superficial gloss of reassuring centrist waffle cannot conceal the ideological chasm which separates the contenders for power.

Yet this is a highly personal contest in which image far outweighs ideology in importance. The contradiction is simply explained: for the first time, Israelis will be voting directly for the next prime minister. Whoever wins that two-horse race — irrespective of the composition of the 14th Knesset (parliament) — will be virtually guaranteed power for the next four years and into the next millennium.

At the age of 72 the prime minister, Shimon Peres, has been carving his way to the top since Israel was born in 1948. A consummate wheeler-dealer, he has skillfully promoted himself as an intellectual, an elder statesman and, above all, a visionary. Likud's leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, is by widespread consent a lightweight in comparison. Best known for his extraordinary capacity for rapid-fire soundbites in defence of Israel during the Gulf war, he has also draped himself in imagery: dynamic, polished, streetwise and pragmatic.

Such two-dimensional portraits are not just misleading — they are plain wrong. As he strides the world stage, Mr Peres has shown in the past six months an appetite for power undiminished by the quest for peace. In the immediate aftermath of the November 4

assassination by a Jewish zealot of Yitzhak Rabin, Mr Peres seemed almost a broken man. Then foreign minister, he told Labour parliamentarians: "Fear for the future fills my heart. Boundless and unending fear." But within days, Mr Peres was restored. Restored in morale and vigour, and

Hustings fail to inspire faithful

IT IS the all-holds-barred election: there are no hecklers, no mass rallies, no mudslinging — it's all very un-Israeli, writes Jessica Berry in Jerusalem.

But this is the new Israel, still traumatised by November's Rabin assassination. Secret servicemen are keeping the prime minister, Shimon Peres far away from the crowds, if indeed there is a crowd at all. The fear of being labelled an extremist has muffled even the most daring activists. Just one tiny incident has marred a campaign otherwise ho-hum: a Likud hired hand shot a Labour rival in the leg.

Mr Peres, and Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu, have even cancelled end-of-campaign rallies. The reason, say pundits, is a combination of security fears and anxiety that crowds would be embarrassingly sparse.

restored to the office which he last held with great success in the mid-1980s, and which he has coveted all his life.

At the end of last year, as occupying Israeli troops pulled out of Palestinian cities in the West Bank, it seemed that the tragedy of Mr Rabin's assassination had given the peace process a



Misleading portrait... An Israeli-Arab girl inadvertently holds a poster of Shimon Peres upside down at a Labour rally

PHOTOGRAPH: NATI HARNIK

much needed kickstart. But in early January, Israeli agents assassinated Yahya Ayyash, master bombmaker for the Hamas Islamist movement, in the Gaza Strip. The killing was hugely popular. The young West Bank graduate had been responsible for the taking of scores of Israeli lives by suicide bombers. There was no concession to the possibility that the murder of Ayyash, as cold-blooded as any he committed himself, might provoke more Hamas attacks.

Revenge came to Israel, horribly, in late March and early February, when 63 lives were blown away in four suicide bombings. The prime minister's immediate response was to seal off the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to halt the planned withdrawal of occupation forces from most of Hebron. It proved to be the most prolonged and the most callously enforced closure of the dozens imposed by Israel. Indeed, although there have been minor relaxations, the order is still in force. But it was not enough: Israeli nerves were scraped raw by the horrific bombings. The prime minister's unassailable 20 per cent lead in the opinion polls evaporated. The country was at war and the man of peace was no longer trusted.

Last month brought another opportunity for Mr Peres to choose between statesmanship and tough-guy image building. A series of tit-for-tat exchanges on the border with Lebanon raised a howl of rightwing protest that the government was not protecting northern residents from rocket attacks by Hizbullah guerrillas.

Mr Peres seized his chance, giving his blessing to the Israeli army's idea of proportionate response: a hail of artillery fire, helicopter gunship raids on Beirut and air strikes on alleged Hizbullah targets. Two hundred Lebanese were killed — more than 100 of them refugees sheltering with the United Nations — and about 400,000 were made homeless. Like the murder of Ayyash, the Lebanon adventure was, by and large, popular with Israelis. The prime minister's

standing in the opinion polls has stabilised, and even recovered a trifle. He is now said to have a lead over Mr Netanyahu of between four and seven percentage points. It sounds good, but if these figures are accurate, Mr Peres is dangerously reliant on the votes of Israeli Arabs — about 11 per cent of the electorate — many of whom have been alienated by the closure policy and by the bloody campaign in Lebanon.

SEVERAL Arab leaders have endorsed Mr Peres in the prime ministerial race. Others have urged abstention. Predictably, there is no serious notion of an Arab protest vote for Mr Netanyahu. For all his apparent trimming and soft-pedalling in the campaign,

the Likud leader is, and always has been, a hardline Israeli nationalist as well as a shrewd political operator. A few months ago, Mr Netanyahu was saying he would never meet Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, let alone deal with him. Now, in the words of the party manifesto, Likud "will recognise the facts created on the ground by the various accords and will act to reduce the dangers to the future and security of Israel resulting from these agreements."

Reducing the danger to Israel is more than a vague assurance. The manifesto, and Mr Netanyahu, are both full of suggestions about the improvement of Israel's relations with its Palestinian neighbours. The party aims to reverse the present government's partial freeze on Jewish settlement in the occupied territories; it proposes to make the Jordan river Israel's eastern frontier, and it adamantly opposes the creation of an independent Palestinian state. "Jewish settlements, security areas, water resources, state land, and road intersections in Judea, Samaria (the West Bank) and the Gaza Strip shall remain under full Israeli control," says the Likud manifesto. It promises that Israel's army will have full freedom of action in areas ostensibly ruled by the PLO. In a similar spirit, Likud promises to conduct peace talks with Syria, "while maintaining Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights and its water resources".

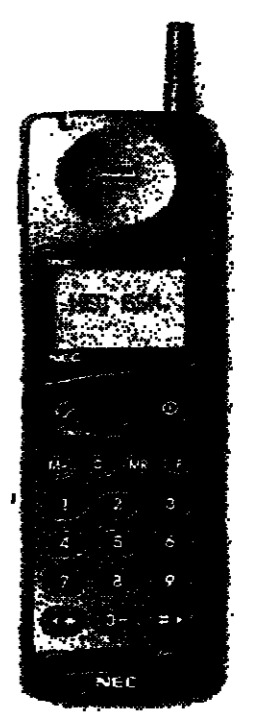
When Mr Netanyahu airily talks of reconvening the Madrid conference which gave birth to the peace process in 1991, he seems audibly to be turning the clock back to a darker era. Revelling in his slick, hi-tech campaign, the Likud leader exudes a confidence which belies the fact that he is consistently second in the independent polls. He has come within a whisker of power and, although aged just 46, this may be his only chance. In the fractious Likud, Mr Netanyahu has many enemies. Indeed, his best friend just may turn out to be Shimon Peres, visionary, adventurer and Israel's most consistent political loser.

Some pundits say Mr Netanyahu's powerful allies could be the breaking of him. Even those voters who are alarmed by the past three years of pell-mell pursuit of peace, associate the Likud alliance with a past full of confrontation and bloodshed. A funeral and 21 parties, page 17



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8 SPORTS NEWS

Racing

Dance Design for an Irish home win

Ron Cox

GUINEAS weekend in Ireland looks a mixed bag for the home team...

No Irish trainer has won the 2,000 Guineas since Vincent O'Brien in 1988 with Prince Of Birds...

With pacemaker Abir to help her, Matiya can come out best again...

But there is a question mark over the Guineas form at Newmarket...

With this Classic with 'Trusted Partner' in 1988 after a similar preparation...

Distant Oasis, who has been supplemented at a cost of IR£18,500...

Given an admirably enterprising ride by Olivier Peslier...

It says much for the colt's ability that he was able to get within a length of Ashkanani...

Bijou d'Inde went down with all guns blazing at Newmarket...

Sorbie Tower (4.05), at one stage thought likely to be supplemented for the Irish 2,000 Guineas...

Gay Kelloway's colt improves with each run...

Bookmakers voiced unanimous support for the order allowing 'amusement with prizes' machines into betting offices...

Although he refused to be drawn into announcing a date, he stated it was 'highly likely' that this year's Derby would be his last...



Carson... 'age had nothing to do with bloody awful Lingfield mistake.'

Carson gives hint of a Derby day retirement

WILLIE CARSON gave his broadest hint yet that retirement was imminent in a Radio 5 interview yesterday...

year career which has brought him five jockeys' championships and success in 14 English Classics...

lately devastated. Carson was clearly shaken by the events at Lingfield last weekend when, in dropping his hands on Kanari...

Kempton with TV form

- 2.05 About Zone, 2.35 Possessive Artists, 3.05 Greyhound Art...

Doncaster with TV form

- 2.05 AQUADO (mop), 2.30 Heilo, 2.50 Super Tiger...

Curragh today Chan4

- 3.55 Alpha Chasers back 1000 Release SYO 1000 to 124,250...

Curragh tomorrow BBC2

- 4.10 First National Building Show 5,000 Guineas SYO 2000 to 114,700...

Lingfield tonight

- 6.10 Oud Dancer, 6.40 Chatterbox, 7.10 Maudslayi...

Channel 4

- 3.35 NEW SOUTH WALES HANDICAP 1m 20c, 3.55 NEW SOUTH WALES HANDICAP 1m 20c...

Channel 4

- 4.05 CHANNEL 4 WARREN HANDICAP 2m 20c, 4.20 CHANNEL 4 WARREN HANDICAP 2m 20c...

Channel 4

- 4.35 UNDERSTANDING HANDICAP 6c 25, 4.55 UNDERSTANDING HANDICAP 6c 25...

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Channel 4

- 4.35 UNDERSTANDING HANDICAP 6c 25, 4.55 UNDERSTANDING HANDICAP 6c 25...

Haydock with form

- 2.00 Gullible, 2.30 Fytham, 2.00 Double Shift, 2.30 Sharp, 4.00 Royal Breeze, 4.30 Sunfall, 4.00 Secret Service...

BBC-1

- 2.00 THE FREEDOM HANDICAP 6c 25, 2.05 THE FREEDOM HANDICAP 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 2.30 SANDY LAKE BAZED HANDICAP (Landed Hand) SYO 6c 25, 2.35 SANDY LAKE BAZED HANDICAP (Landed Hand) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 3.00 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 3.05 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 3.30 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 3.35 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 4.00 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 4.05 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 4.30 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 4.35 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 5.05 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 5.10 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 5.40 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 5.45 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 6.10 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 6.15 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

BBC-1

- 6.40 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25, 6.45 THE GREAT SILVER BOWL (HANDICAP) SYO 6c 25...

Results

Table with columns for race name, horse name, jockey, and time. Includes sections for Haydock, Kempton, Doncaster, and Nottingham.



Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Soccer

Adams key to England back door

David Lacey in Hong Kong ponders a security question

REPORTERS wishing to contact England players at their hotel here yesterday were told that every caller must give a password in order to be put through. This password, of course, was not available to the media. Annoying though this swiftly rescinded restriction threatened to be, speculating on likely passwords was rewarding.

To gain access to the innermost thoughts of Dennis Wise, for example, did one have to cry "Taxi" to the switchboard operator? Would David Seaman bare all to the magic word "Nayim"? Perhaps Alan Shearer was longing to hear someone shout "Goal".

There are no prizes for guessing what word might have aroused Tony Adams. "Seaver", in fact, might have been a more apposite choice than the braying alternative because Adams's role in the European Championship was the most urgent question to come out of England's 3-0 victory over China in Beijing on Thursday.

Adams came through the game with no reaction to his recently healed knee. From the point of view of experience and authority at the back this was good news for Terry Venables and England. Arsenal's captain will surely be a crucial figure in Euro 96. Nevertheless the success of his return, after Adams had not played a competitive match since mid-January following a cartilage operation, posed further questions about precisely how Venables intends to play his hand against Switzerland at Wembley a fortnight today.

Injuries to Adams, Gary Pallister and Steve Howey having threatened to deprive Venables of his traditional stopper centre-halves, he then recalled Mark Wright and switched to a three-man defence — a system, moreover, that did not merely involve using three centre-backs but saw Wright flanked by full-backs, Gary Neville and Stuart Pearce, against Croatia and Hungary.

Then Wright's knee injury forced him out of Euro 96, leaving Venables to seek if Adams was match-fit and

then to decide if he wanted to stick to a system for which many believed Wright, with his libero's tendencies, was the essential part.

In Beijing Adams began flanked by the Neville brothers with Gareth Southgate in Paul Ince's role at the back of midfield. But soon the numbers China threw forward forced Southgate to withdraw alongside Adams, which meant for most of the match England reverted to an orthodox back four.

Now Venables must decide if he can risk Adams in a three-man defence against the Swiss who, through the likes of Sforza, will be markedly better equipped than China to exploit gaps that might open up around the Arsenal defender. Ince will be expected to support the defence but this still leaves open the question of how comfortable Adams is likely to be in such a system once the sparring has stopped.

Adams and Southgate looked a well-balanced pair in the Workers' Stadium but the only way Venables could accommodate the Aston Villa player would be by removing one of his five midfielders, with David Platt the obvious choice. The England captain's arrival and the seven more changes of ownership this season than Neil Gwyn's garter, but this would be a drastic step.

Adams remains confident he can satisfy whatever demands may be made of him. "I feel quite confident playing in a three-man system," he declared yesterday. "People may wonder if I can do it but I really don't give an answer. I can only give my answer on the pitch."

At least Adams, having proved his fitness to Venables's satisfaction, can be reasonably sure of making the cut when the England coach announces his final squad of 22. Nick Barmby, on the other hand, knows his two goals against China will merely prolong the suspense.

Barmby's return to form has increased speculation that he might make a late run for the squad place at present allotted to Peter Beardsley, who is 13 years his senior. "I don't want to go into that," said Venables last night.

"I feel very good and very sharp," said Barmby, "which is important, because my game's based on sharpness. I've either got to create chances or take them."

In those days the players probably trained on Yorkshire pudding and pints of ale. Last Monday their successors were told they would be on a pasta and mineral water diet in London for fear of high temperatures. Northerners believe it is always warm and sunny down south.

Bradford's manager Chris Kamara must wonder how they have managed it. Their league season began with seven wins in their first 18 matches, a record which caused Lennie Lawrence to be sacked in November.

Kamara was installed in his place but by mid-February



Three into two won't go... Stallard, left, with Ormondroyd and Shutt, front-line rivals at Bradford

MICHAEL STEELE

Endsleigh League play-offs: the final showdown

Bradford on an upswing

David Hopps charts the club's fluctuating passage to face Notts County at Wembley

EVEN in Wembley play-offs week life for Bradford City has been as rigorous as ever. The old Midland Road stand will be demolished next week but it is not about to be smashed to smithereens with a brazen prediction of better times ahead. Instead it will be carefully dismantled and transported to Barrow, where one of the Football League's former members have paid £5,000 for the dubious privilege of re-erecting it.

In 93 seasons Bradford have never played at Wembley but tomorrow they face Notts County in the Second Division play-off final, a pairing resonant of bygone days.

Bradford won the FA Cup final in 1911 and became the first winners of the present trophy but the game was played at Crystal Palace, followed by a replay at Old Trafford.

In those days the players probably trained on Yorkshire pudding and pints of ale. Last Monday their successors were told they would be on a pasta and mineral water diet in London for fear of high temperatures. Northerners believe it is always warm and sunny down south.

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things were still going badly and Bradford were lying 11th. Their refusal to concede, however, was never better exemplified than when they lost 2-0 to Blackpool in the home leg of their play-off semi-final but recovered to win 3-0 at Bloomfield Road.

Kamara was so overcome that he stripped to the waist, placing himself somewhere between a tracksuit manager and a birthday-suit manager. Realisation had suddenly dawned. There was barely time to order the suits, which was a relief to the more fashion-conscious members of the squad. "At least this way we've ended up with navy blue," said one as they were doled out on Wednesday.

"Imagine having to wear the all-claret job." One man not afraid to proclaim his part in Bradford's improvement is their outspoken chairman Geoffrey Richmond. He took over in January 1994 — having tired of Scarborough's small-town provincialism — and complained of the club's "acceptance of mediocrity."

Within three months a host of sackings had included the chief executive David Clayton and the manager Frank Stapleton. By then Richmond's assessment had been upped to selflessness and self-interest. In fact, he said, the club was rotten to the core.

A catalyst on the field has been Mark Stallard, a £120,000 signing from Derby County at the turn of the year, whose 10 goals included the winner

against Blackpool. His striking partner at Wembley remains uncertain, and two old stagers, Carl Shutt and Ian Ormondroyd, are privately, and a little uncomfortably, hoping luck will fall their way.

Ormondroyd is a Bradford lad, hailing from Great Horton, now a deprived suburb. He was once sold to Aston Villa for £650,000 by the manager Terry Dolan a few minutes before he was fired. A spindly 6ft 5in striker, who prefers to operate wide on the left, The Big O has attracted so much mockery that he would happily sign up Jason Lee's publicity manager.

He is pessimistic about making Bradford's line-up, having been dropped for the return leg against Blackpool. "If I was one of the 11 lads who won at Blackpool, I'd be devastated if I wasn't selected."

But he was part of the Aston Villa side which finished second in the old First Division in 1990 under Graham Taylor and he knows Wembley like no other Bradford player after three play-offs for Leicester.

Shutt is three years older at

34 and his career includes a spectacular goal as a substitute for Leeds United in the European Cup, against Stuttgart in the Nou Camp. Rarely has fear turned to elation so abruptly. "I was warming up thinking that Howard Wilkinson would never make a substitution at a defensive corner," said Shutt, "when all of a sudden he sends me on. I was petrified, thinking 'Please don't kick it to me'."

"Of course they did and I managed to head it clear. Tony Dorigo collected the ball, picked me out as I sprinted over the halfway line and I scored from about seven yards. Great stuff."

Shutt, though, is regarded as no better than 50-50 after a knee injury in training on Tuesday and was loyal enough to refuse to reveal who did it. "It was a razor-blades' job when it happened but I'm more optimistic now."

While Shutt and Ormondroyd had doubts, Stallard, the striker certain to play, gazed calmly out at Valley Parade's mud-clogged surface. "Just like Wembley," he mused. "The same-shaped pitch with a goal at either end."

Argyle bank on Warnock's way

PLYMOUTH will have Neil Warnock's Wembley record and support on their side this afternoon as they open the three-day play-off festival against Darlington.

Argyle fans are likely to outnumber Darlington's by almost three to one in an anticipated 55,000 crowd, a Third Division final record.

Warnock has enjoyed three play-off triumphs, twice with Notts County and last year with Huddersfield, and is set to field an unchanged Plymouth side after his top scorer Adrian Littlejohn has recovered from injury. Darlington are the underdogs, although Jim Platt's side twice beat Argyle in the league.

Vialli and Futre seek good old days

Martha Thorpe

TWO of Europe's best-known footballing names swapped the lure of the fire for the pull of the pound yesterday when Gianluca Vialli joined Chelsea and Paulo Futre moved to West Ham.

On the same day Bordeaux's 24-year-old midfielder Zinedine Zidane, previously linked with Blackburn and Arsenal, joined Juventus to show that the Premiership has some way to go to attract top European players who are neither old, creaked nor outcasts.

But the excitement generated by the arrival of Vialli and Futre will be reflected in the millions they generate in season-ticket and replica-shirt sales.

Vialli, 33 in July, is joining Chelsea on a free transfer, in a three-year deal earning the shaven-headed striker more than £1 million a season. He scored 123 goals in 335 Italian league games and 16 goals in 59 internationals and became Chelsea's second former world-record transfer-fee holder — alongside his friend and new manager Ruud Gullit — 24 hours after lifting the European Cup for Juventus.

"That was the best night in my career," he said, "not in my life but for football the best. Now I am happy to come to England because I like London and I like Chelsea. I hope I can win again something of importance."

Asked if he felt Chelsea really could win something, Vialli was more circumspect.

"I hope so but I'm not sure. But I think we can take a good position in the league."

He will live in London with his girlfriend. "London is the best city in Europe and maybe the world," he said. "His home debut will be in a benefit game for Steve Clarke on August 11."

Futre, also a free agent, is expected to receive more than £1 million a season in a two-year deal at West Ham. However, he played only one game for Milan last season because of a knee injury.

Futre has agreed to sell Rangers their Portuguese international defender Fernando Couto for £2.8 million but the player will wait to decide on the move until after the European Championship.

West Ham have also revived interest in signing the Bournemouth midfielder Scott Meen for £750,000.

The troubled Nottingham Forest striker Jason Lee could move to Oxford United in exchange for the forward Chris Allen plus £250,000. Forest are also eager to sell the misfit Italian striker Andrei Silvestri to help finance a move for the Galatasaray striker Dean Saunders. The Forest goalkeeper Mark Crossley has signed a new four-year deal.

100 Ross odds: Gary Speed realised a long-held dream yesterday when he agreed to move from Leeds to Everton. A lifelong supporter of the Merseyside club, the 29-year-old Welsh international midfielder will complete a £3.5 million transfer when he returns from honeymoon in a fortnight.

Goram rocked by injury curse

Patrick Glenn in Connecticut

THE international curse that has restricted Andy Goram's Scotland appearances to 20 minutes in the past 18 months seems to have followed him 3,000 miles across the Atlantic. The Rangers goalkeeper has a hip strain and will miss tomorrow's match against the United States.

Goram last started an international in December 1994 — a European qualifier in which he sustained the leg injury that forced him to miss the rest of the series. Since then he has played 20 minutes as a substitute in a friendly in Sweden last October.

Scotland's coach Craig Brown assured reporters in Hartford yesterday that Goram will be fit for Wednesday's match against Colombia in Miami. But his apparently endless problems are beginning to plant doubts about his readiness for the European Championship.

Goram tweaked his hip in last Saturday's Scottish Cup final against Hearts. It is an injury he has had before and he has not been able to train properly. He was left behind with John Spencer in Hartford on Thursday night when

the rest of the squad travelled to Madison Square Garden in New York as guests of Rod Stewart at the rocker's concert. The Chelsea forward's calf muscle troubles him while travelling.

Goram's is a similar problem. "Sitting on a bus, even for a short trip, Andy feels the hip tighten and he gets a little pain," said Brown. "We thought it was best to leave him at the hotel."

Brown had intended playing Goram and Jim Leighton of Hibernian in equal measure during this mini-tour, either for 45 minutes each in both games or giving each man a full match. Now he has no decision to make — at least about tomorrow.

Leighton, 38 in July and Scotland's most capped goalkeeper with 73 appearances, will start his 12th consecutive international at the appropriately named Veterans' Stadium in New Britain on the outskirts of Hartford.

Brown also hinted that Gary McAllister, his captain, may not play the full 90 minutes against the Americans. "As I've said before, we know what players like Gary, John Collins and Stuart McCall can do," said Brown. "I'm considering playing him for part of the match to keep him ticking over."

Visit the monks of Fuggles Abbey.

SEE the Waxworks in an old shed at the back of the brewery and imagine what life could have been like if there were monks and an abbey.

FUGGLES a brand NEW old fashioned ALE

EURO 96: John Duncan looks at where the money will go in June and finds that the FA can expect only a modest dividend

Eastern Europe to reap the net benefits

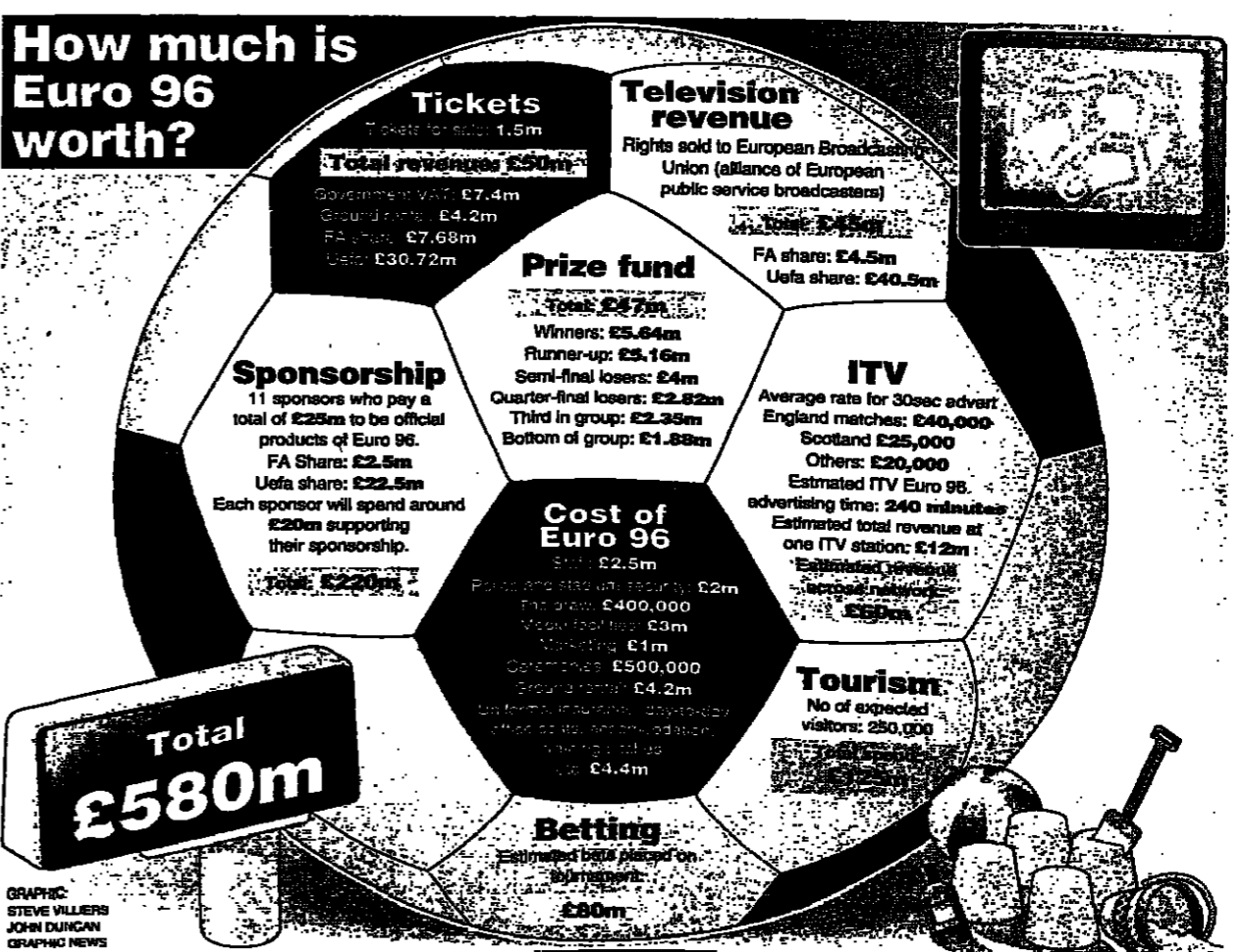
WHEN Euro 96 organisers use the word net, they probably mean receipts rather than onion bags and, when they talk about goals, you will find them looking at the bottom line rather than at the forwards. For the three-week tournament that kicks off in a fortnight's time is a huge business enterprise involving hundreds of millions of pounds.

Oddly the Football Association, which is hosting the tournament, will be lucky to break even from the thirdrichest sporting event in the world. In fact more of the money made from Euro 96 will end up supporting the grass roots of the game in eastern Europe than in England, the organisers said yesterday.

While the FA is aiming for a moderate profit Uefa, the European governing body, could make up to £50 million, much of it given to an eastern European fund.

"Uefa is assigning any balance from the tournament to a special fund for the development of the game in Europe," said a Euro 96 spokesman yesterday.

There has been widespread confusion as to how the FA will make a maximum profit of only £1.5 million from this massive event but the reason for the poor return is the formula Uefa has devised for distributing revenue, and the tax



000110150

Week days

Golf

David Davies sees the green-jacket holder set the pace at a dank and slippery Wentworth

Faldo takes out double indemnity

NICK FALDO, indisputably Europe's finest, is attempting to do twice that which even the best of his colleagues have only done once.

While on the subject of bustling things, Faldo revealed that prior to holding in one at The Oxfordshire last week a spectator had urged him to "bash it in the hole".

No, I don't mean that. I'm getting my fair share of publicity and since I've been back here everyone has been great.

No sooner had he dropped another ball than a gust of wind diddled the original well within the five minutes allowed.

on the 35th green, 2 and 1. If Lyle needs an incentive to play better this week, it would be the memory of that distant match, plus the fact that this week he has 54 holes to catch his rival, rather than the 18 he had in 1993.



Ballesteros... up a tree

Cricket

Watery defeat for both sides

Mike Selvey at The Oval

THE first one-day international duly reached its watery stalemate at four o'clock yesterday afternoon when the umpires could no longer avoid what had been obvious all day.

17.1 had been bowled when rain stopped play on Thursday. So from the minimum of 47 further balls needed for a result, India would have required only 50 runs with five wickets in hand.

Derbyshire chairman urges action against Illingworth

DERBYSHIRE'S chairman Mike Horton has officially pressed the Test and County Cricket Board's disciplinary committee to take "strong action" against England's chairman of selectors, Raymond Illingworth.

being attacked in print by the man responsible for picking the England team and that can't be right," he said.

Scoreboard

Table with 2 columns: Team/Match and Score/Status. Includes Britannic Assurance County Championship and Kent v Yorkshire.

Table with 2 columns: Match and Score/Status. Includes Gloucestershire v Surrey and Warwickshire v Leicestershire.

HOLDER GIVEN GO-AHEAD FOR THE FRENCH OPEN



Waiting game... Thomas Muster is hoping for 24 hours' grace and a Tuesday start on the clay courts of Roland Garros

Fit Muster put on red alert

Stephen Bierley on why Paris is waiting agog for developments in court circles

THE question was deceptively innocuous. "Tell us, Thomas, who is the first person you want to phone on such an occasion?"

with the death of his coach. Tim Gullikson, Muster was a clear favourite to retain his French title.

Open champion in 1993 and 1994. "He played better than anyone over the year, and that's what counts."

Champion indeed. But what everybody still really wants to know is whether Muster's inattentiveness with red-clay titles is in anyway matched by his attraction to a certain titled, red-headed lady.

Hockey

Reid reacts to limit Argentina

Patrick Rowley

THE England women's team were beaten only 1-0 by Argentina at Lillleshall yesterday despite the absence of their many Great Britain players for the first of two internationals against the World Cup finalists.

ber of novice internationals facing high-class opposition for the first time, were hand-capped when Lisa Bayliss, one of their more experienced players, injured an ankle and could not return until midway through the second half.

Sports Betting

Back Wigan to run Bath close

Julian Turner

THIS afternoon Bath have the opportunity to take revenge against Wigan in the final instalment of rugby's battle of the codes. In the first game, played under rugby league rules, Wigan hung Bath out to dry 32-6.

their first try of the game in less than 37 minutes with the same firm.

STELLA ARTOIS GRASSCOURT CHAMPIONSHIPS QUEENS CLUB 10th-16th June

Shoulder injury forces Seles out

MONICA SELES, complaining of a strained left shoulder, yesterday scratched from her Spanish Open semi-final against Jana Novotna.

Seles said she had been suffering with the problem for the past four months. The joint world No. 1 wants to rest the shoulder for next week's French Open, where she has not lost a match since 1989.

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Daktarin advertisement showing product packaging and a person applying it to their foot.

Don't be Caught out by Athlete's Foot advertisement with a tennis ball and shoe.

Dance Design for Irish home win, page 8

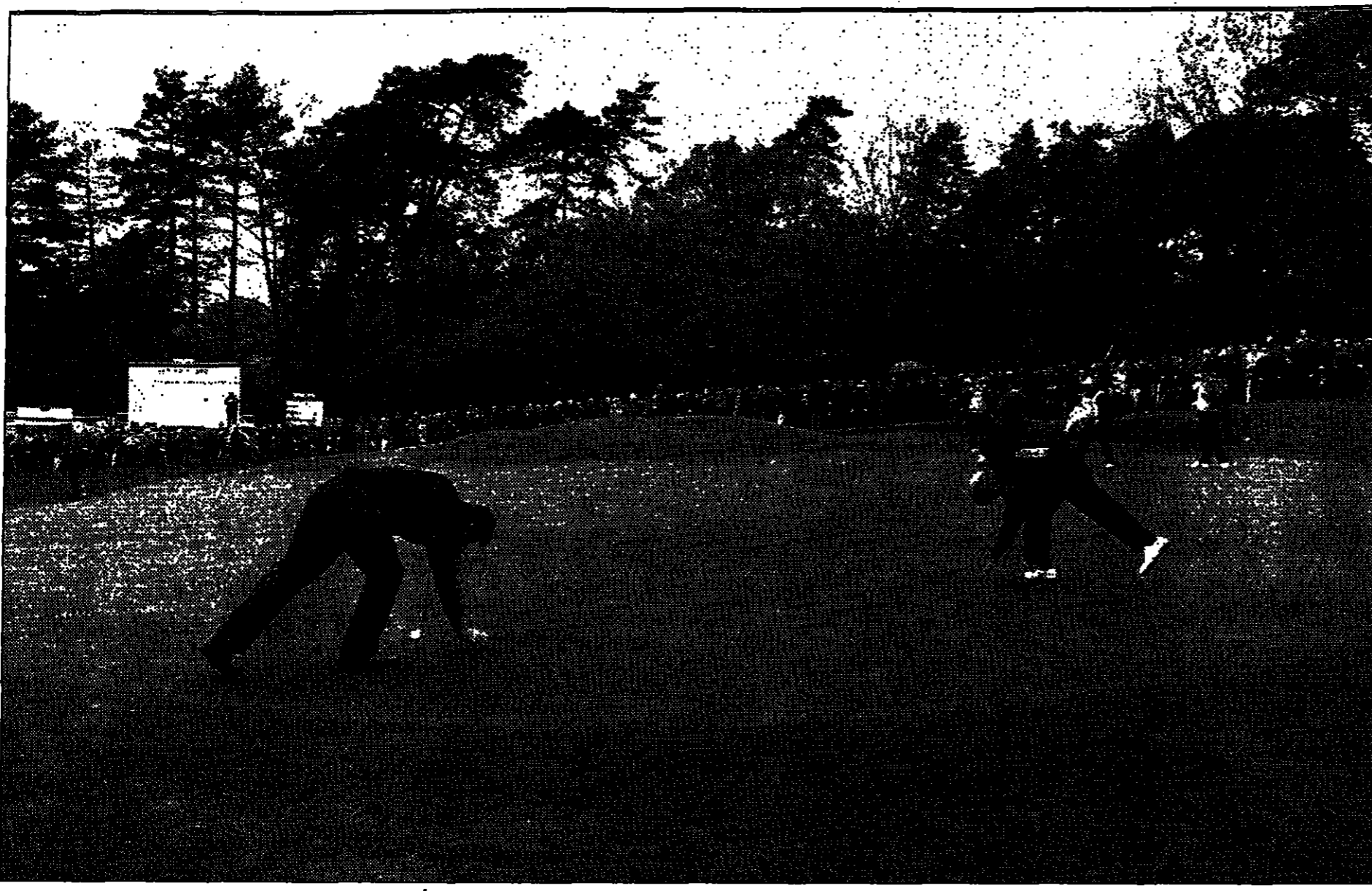
Tracking the Euro 96 millions, page 10

Gunnell back on the Olympic trail, page 9

Muster prepares his Paris defence, page 11

SportsGuardian

FALDO WARMS TO HIS TASK AT A DAMP AND CHILLY WENTWORTH



Synchronised weeding... Nick Faldo, the US Master of Augusta, and Stephen Ames, the recent Benson & Hedges International winner at Thame, get down to a spot of gardening on the 14th green during the first round of the Volvo PGA Championship at Wentworth, where Faldo set the pace with a 67. David Davies reports, page 11. PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARN

Bringing back more than memories



David Lacey

SOMEHOW the parable of the Great Wall summed up the questionable virtues of England's decision to play in China and Hong Kong with the European Championship so close. The players took the wrong turning and exhausted themselves making the climb on foot. Members of the FA's international committee, never ones to miss a trick or treat, went the right way and coasted up by cable-car. It was ever thus. Twenty years ago, during the 1976 American Bicentennial Tournament, the chairman of the FA at the time, Sir Andrew Stephen, led a delegation to Disneyland and was met by Mickey Mouse. Later a more caustic member of the press corps trusted that Mr Mouse had not been diminished by the experience. In Beijing on Wednesday Terry Venables met Michael Heselton. Whether either found the experience diminishing we will never know.

the aggravation of flying to Beijing to inspect the pitch before his chief scout, Ted Buxton, travelled on ahead of the main party to make sure that the Chinese were making the necessary improvements. Seldom can more air miles have been accumulated for the sake of a surface which turned out to be no worse than Villa Park on a bad day. Better, if anything. Short of England bringing home a bag marked 'swag' there is no way of knowing whether the unworthy thoughts which have been expressed about the real motives for this trip are anything more than media cynicism. Yet watching the England squad being mobbed by airport staff while they waited for their luggage at Hong Kong airport yesterday it was hard to avoid recalling Graham Taylor's approach to the 1992 Championship, when he took his players to Finland and closed them with a psychologist for three weeks. Everything, of course, will be judged with the hindsight of England's success or failure in Euro 96. Taylor's relaxed, psychologically-correct team were dire in Sweden and David Platt is still the only England player to have scored a goal in six years of major tournaments. Should Alan Shearer's international drought come to a spectacular end at Wembley in a fortnight's time presumably it will be put down to the bamboo shoots.

Twickenham breathes a sigh of relief as England's leading clubs agree a power-sharing package

Rugby averts breakaway

Robert Armstrong on the last-gasp deal that ended a protracted dispute

ENGLAND'S leading clubs last night agreed to a peace agreement with the Rugby Football Union which will give them a major share of power in the running of domestic and cross-border competitions from next season. The deal, hammered out at day-long talks by the RFU's full 63-man committee at London's Hilton Hotel, is a significant policy defeat for union traditionalists, who have attempted to prevent the clubs gaining greater control. Crucially the RFU has agreed that the clubs must in future be signatories to all TV and sponsorship agreements covering competitions in which they take part. In effect the English Professional Rugby Union Clubs (Epruc) have won the right to veto elements in any new contract they believe are not in their best interests. The clubs also pulled off an important coup in convincing the RFU there should be no relegation from Courage League One for the season just ended. That means Saracens and West Hartlepool (who lost all their 18 league games) stay up and Northampton and London Irish, promoted from League Two, join them to increase the top flight to 12 clubs. England's international commitments have been formally recognised by the clubs, who have agreed that players must be released for England duty on seven or eight weekends each season. Players will also have the right to attend squad training sessions deemed necessary by the England management even if they take place at weekends. Players' contracts will be held by the clubs provided the necessary safeguards for international release agreed with the RFU are built into the detailed terms. The players themselves will be the main beneficiaries of this arrangement which should, in theory at least, prevent a club-country conflict. The format of European Cup and Anglo-Welsh competitions for next season has been agreed by Epruc and Twickenham. The new season will almost certainly begin on August 24,

probably with a charity shield-type game between the English and Welsh league champions, Bath and Neath, at Twickenham. The Courage League programme proper will start on August 31, with around 10 to 13 games being completed before the European Cup starts in late October. Cliff Brittle, chairman of the RFU executive committee, claimed there were "no winners and losers" after four months of negotiations, but few RFU members will be in any doubt that the clubs have flexed their muscles and to all intents and purposes brought home the bacon. Brittle insisted the protracted negotiations had been necessary to achieve a working compromise that was fair to both sides. An Epruc delegation which included Donald Kerr (Leicester), Peter Wheeler (Leicester) and Sir John Hall (Newcastle) made a forceful declaration of their demands at yesterday's emergency meeting which was, apparently, heard by the full committee in polite silence. Distribution of TV income, the future structure of all club competitions and the primacy over players' contracts were the main topics Epruc presented for review. Bill Bishop, the RFU president described the deal as an "historic agreement" which owed its existence to the "hard work" of Brittle and the Epruc chairman Donald Kerr. The formal resolution put together by the RFU in conjunction with Epruc agreed the following fundamental tenets: ● 1. The RFU must remain the ultimate governing body of the game in England and have ultimate control. ● 2. The England XV must be of the greatest possible strength and all players in England should have the opportunity of playing for it. ● 3. All RFU member clubs should abide by the regulations and bylaws of the RFU and the International Board. ● 4. All RFU member clubs should play only in competitions approved by the RFU. ● 5. All RFU member clubs

should have the opportunity to progress to the highest level in the game by promotion from lower levels. ● 6. The RFU must be responsible for the development of the game in England. ● 7. The ongoing interdependence between the senior clubs and the RFU should be reflected in a contractual arrangement governing TV and sponsorship rights, player availability, the structured season and the management of competitions. Bill Bishop, the RFU president described the deal as an "historic agreement" which owed its existence to the "hard work" of Brittle and the Epruc chairman Donald Kerr. The formal resolution put together by the RFU in conjunction with Epruc agreed the following fundamental tenets: ● 1. The RFU must remain the ultimate governing body of the game in England and have ultimate control. ● 2. The England XV must be of the greatest possible strength and all players in England should have the opportunity of playing for it. ● 3. All RFU member clubs should abide by the regulations and bylaws of the RFU and the International Board. ● 4. All RFU member clubs should play only in competitions approved by the RFU. ● 5. All RFU member clubs



Brittle... 'no losers'

England fret in the rain

FROM persistent rain at The Oval to a sea fret that stopped racing at Brighton, the English summer yesterday reduced to a rumour. England suffered most as rain swept much of the cricket programme away. They were denied the chance to go 1-0 up in the three-match Texaco one-day series against India when the match was abandoned just after 3pm. The teams had waited in vain for the weather to clear in line with the forecast. India had been in with a chance too. Despite being reduced to 96 for five in reply to England's 291 for eight, they needed only 47 runs from 7.5 overs to win because after 25 overs a result would have depended on run rate. The teams meet back-to-back, weather permitting, at Headingley and Old Trafford today and tomorrow. Mike Selvey, page 11

reply to England's 291 for eight, they needed only 47 runs from 7.5 overs to win because after 25 overs a result would have depended on run rate. The teams meet back-to-back, weather permitting, at Headingley and Old Trafford today and tomorrow. Mike Selvey, page 11

In Hanover I saw a woman growl and grab a bronze by its buttocks. She wore a necklace that looked like it was made from the molars of her former lovers.
Fiachra Gibbons

Outlook page 18

Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,662

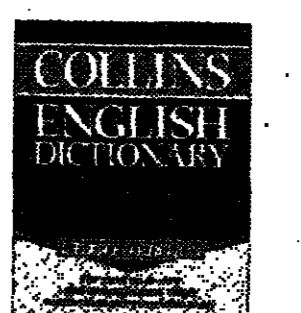
A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,662, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday June 3.

Name: _____
Address: _____

Tick here if you do not wish to receive further information from the Guardian Media Group or other companies screened by us

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- Set by Araucaria
- Across**
- 1 See policeman Frost about painting Northern Ireland gang member (7,2,5)
 - 9 Guide to party of rose and lily (7)
 - 10 Win for chestnut, say (7)
 - 11 Way out - in again (5)
 - 12 Genuine gold, so you get a lot of credit (8)
 - 13 It helps with having babies if wed; otherwise, without, it's filthy (9)
 - 14 Increase not great for organist (5)
 - 15 A profit on the other hand (5)
 - 17 Contemporary sound of circus 0 kilometre off (4,5)
 - 20 Fit to live in robe with competence (9)
 - 22 In robe I rather like African port (5)
 - 23 Fox dealing with pole in garden? (7)
 - 24 Struggle with filer in front of box? (7)
 - 25 Enter, with bell and chain, crook associated with young sh-sheep (8,5)
- Down**
- 1 On edge, I abandon faith in investigative journalist's colonists (7,7)
 - 2 Change of love, going to be up in the circle (7)
 - 3 Wood for the Beatles struck Ringo anrew (9)



- 4 Aggressive behaviour of a politician in fury (7)
- 5 Ironic congratulation for precision about king (4,3)
- 6 Hills as far as one can go (5)
- 7 Little time to set free copper with horse (7)
- 8 Fool the French horse to revive the battery (7,7)
- 14 Note not detached when English verb turns up (9)
- 16 Wood for a man upset about a little one (7)
- 17 Half capital, half buried, raised by drum beat (3-1-3)
- 18 Herb, dear to the French, almost worthless (7)
- 19 Ascent followed by descent parody about most of life (3-4)
- 24 Practise the following to get on life (5)

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The Guardian Outlook

Is this the way we want it?

Behind Michael Howard's clash with the judges lies his obsession with US lock-up justice, says ALAN RAVIS. Right: IAN KATZ in New York on the nightmare ahead

For Britain's worst Home Secretary for 40 years, the charge that his "get tough" sentencing package has been stolen wholesale from America is not even a matter for debate. "I am not simply copying what has been done there," Michael Howard protests. "I am putting in place some very carefully targeted measures which learn from the experience of the United States."
This "improved" British version of the American prison nightmare Howard is so keen to promote appears to stem more from a lifetime's love affair with the US than from any study of the criminal justice system. "To say that imprisoning people has no worked simply flies in the face of the fact," he says.
"Let's see he took office three years ago, Howard has ignored his own Home Office research which says the "incapacitation effect" is so small that you need to increase the prison population by 25 per cent to cut crime by just 1 per cent. Instead of following this logic, he has advocated a range of IS imports, including the introduction of boot camps and electronic tagging. At one point he even considered changing the name of the Probation Service to the Corrections Agency. His former deputy, Michael Forsyth, now Scottish Secretary, is introducing his own version of the Alabama chain gang.
Howard hasn't stopped there. American private prison companies have started to operate in Britain with Howard's encouragement. The Florida-based Wakefield Corrections Corporation last week opened their new immigration detention centre at Gatwick Airport. The Corrections Corporation of America is already running British prisons.
So what is there in Howard's sentencing package that supports his contention that he is borrowing the "best of America's penal policies" and improving them? The principal measure is the introduction of mandatory minimum sentences which are meant to severely punish the career criminal.
The second major US import is the imposition of an automatic life sentence on those who are convicted of a second serious violent or sex crime. In the baseball terminology now being used to describe these things, this is "two strikes and you're out".
The baseball point is a clue to why Howard is so enthusiastic about all aspects of the American criminal justice system. His answer is simply that he is a Yankee. His Who's Who entry lists his recreations as baseball (the New York Mets, who he gets to see at least once a summer).
While sitting in New York's Shea Stadium, it will not have escaped his notice that a "get tough" agenda has proved wildly popular among the electorate there. There's hardly an elected official left in the US who dares not embrace the slogan "Prison works."
So Howard presses on, hoping for the same populist results in Britain to help his beleaguered friend, John Major. The alarm bells, however, have started to ring at the highest levels of the Home Office. Already the prison population is at a record 54,481. In the last 17 years the Tory government has built 22 new prisons. Howard's plans will require another 22.
It will be a massive building programme. Now that the Channel tunnel is completed this new generation of prisons, costing billions, is set to become the largest single construction project underway in Britain.
"The judges are out of touch with the public," is the Government's justification. But if opinion polls are in the future to be the only guiding light for criminal justice policy in Britain, as Howard argues, what then? Who will be able to resist pressure for the final "get tough" reform — the return of the hangman's noose?



Captive nation: 1.5 million people are now packed into US prisons. The Home Secretary believes crime will fall here too if we lock up enough people

PHOTOGRAPH BY P. BENTLEY

Bull market in prisons and knee-jerk politics

'Prison does work. I want to make sure prison is a place where prisoners spend their time in active demanding regimes.'
MICHAEL HOWARD

'I have an old-fashioned view — that prison works.'
JOHN MAJOR

A NEW BREED of commodity trader has emerged in the corridors of power in Washington. Like their counterparts dealing in pork bellies, they seek to match producers making too much with consumers who can't get enough. Only the nature of the commodity they deal in is different. It is prisoners.
Right now, Texas is importing. The state has just completed a massive prison-building spree and, for a few months at least, it has spare cells. It needs to fill them or thousands of jobs will be at risk. So "prisoner placement consultants" have found inmates from Colorado and Oregon, where the jails are filled to bursting.
On the face of it, the convict trade makes good sense. Why should cells stand empty while inmates in states like Arizona and New Jersey languish in tents? America, quite simply, is sending people to jail quicker than it can build new ones.
For two decades, US politicians in search of quick, politically saleable solutions to crime have vied to pass laws putting more villains in jail for longer. Obsessed throughout the 1980s with its war on drugs, the federal government concentrated on ensuring that petty drug criminals would remain behind bars as long as many rapists or murderers. For their part, the States came up with snappy variations on the mandatory sentencing theme such as California's three-strikes-and-you're-out law, under which anyone convicted

of a third major crime must serve 25 to 100 years.
The sporting allusion is apt, for prison is rapidly displacing baseball as America's national pastime. In December the US surpassed Russia for the first time as the world's number-one jailer with 565 out of every 100,000 Americans behind bars. (Britain locks up around 100.) The population of America's new corrections archipelago is exploding at a rate that would embarrass most Third World countries. Federal and state jails are packed with almost 1.5 million inmates, more than double the total in 1986. Texas alone has more prisoners than the entire country had in 1948.
Inside America's overcrowded prisons, the temperature is mounting. They gave up long ago on the national target of one prisoner to a cell. In California, among the most gun-prison sentencing, the prisons are stuffed with almost double the number of inmates they were built for.
It is not as though prison authorities have not tried to keep up. The last two decades have seen the biggest prison-building boom in history. California, which built 17 jails in 15 years, has seen prison spending balloon from 2 per cent of the state budget to almost 10 per cent. The Governor of Washington offers a grim prediction: if his state continues to build prisons at the rate it is going, every Washingtonian will either be working in a jail or held in

one by the year 2056. America's prison fever has an economic momentum of its own. Small, cash-strapped towns compete to build new jails "on spec", confident that the nation's "get tough" mood will fill them and bring jobs and prosperity. Corporate giants like American Express and General Electric invest millions in companies that run private prisons.
For the federal and state governments, however, the prison boom looks more like a bust. For the first time last year, California spent more on prisons than on higher education. The comparison is more than a curiosity because many states are looting their education coffers to build jails. According to a study by the Rand Corporation, California will spend 18 per cent of its state budget on prisons by the year 2000 if it continues to lock up its residents with such zeal. That would leave just 1 per cent for universities.
Advocates of mandatory sentencing argue it is a price worth paying to make America safer. With crime figures falling across the country — precipitously in cities like New York — lock-up politicians like California's Governor Pete Wilson have been quick to claim the credit. But criminologists are divided over who or what is really winning the war against crime. Some suggest shifting demographics (fewer of those dangerous 18 to 25s) and changing drug preferences (less crack) have more to do with it than

packed prisons. The triumphalism of the hard time brigade is dampened by a widespread consensus among penologists that America is locking up the wrong people. Critics argue that the state and federal systems are being forced to release violent criminals to accommodate the frequently non-violent ones handed long prison terms under mandatory sentencing laws. In Florida, for instance, a profusion of heavy drug sentences means other criminals get out quicker; the average Florida prisoner serves just 41 per cent of his term.
The swamping of the federal prison system with comparatively petty offenders convicted under draconian anti-drug laws is the most striking result of the vogue for mandatory sentencing. Drug offenders now account for almost two-thirds of the federal prison population.
Widespread criticism of the drug laws by judges (and even the refusal of several to hear cases under them) has not dampened the federal government's enthusiasm for sentencing by formula: the sweeping anti-crime bill passed last year includes a federal three-strikes law to match those already in force in more than a dozen states, as well as \$12.2 billion to build more prisons.
California's experiment with baseball justice hardly inspires confidence, however. Eight out of 10 of those locked up under the new law were convicted of non-violent offences on their second and third strikes. Manuel Penna, a 29-year-old convicted of shoplifting is not untypical. His \$25 fine will cost him 25 years to life because of three earlier convictions for armed robbery.
Meanwhile, California's judicial system is creaking under the pressure. Because of the higher stakes involved, potential third strike defendants are demanding jury trials in far greater numbers. Since July 1994, 47 of the state's 125 civil courts have been pressed into action to hear criminal cases, creating a years-long backlog of civil litigation. There are other, less easily quantifiable, concerns. Los Angeles Police chief Willie Williams has suggested that a spate of shootings of police officers reflects an increased desperation of potential third strike defendants to avoid arrest.
While most US lawmakers have contented themselves with finding ways to put more people behind bars, others have devoted themselves to the parallel crusade of making prison life more unpleasant. The return of chain gangs to Alabama last year was one reflection of a wider move to make hard time just that. The US Congress is currently debating the No Frills Prison Act, a bill designed to achieve "the elimination of luxurious prison conditions". At the same time several states have passed so-called "truth in sentencing" laws aimed at keeping inmates in jail longer. Don't worry about selling those prison shares just yet.

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A divorce bill to embrace

IS THERE going to be a divorce over the divorce bill? Until now, Labour has supported the main thrust of the Government's proposals. Indeed, it has only been because of Labour backing that many of the more sensible provisions of the bill, resented and resisted by back-to-basics moralists on the Tory benches, have gone through. Now Labour is having second thoughts. When Parliament resumes after the Whitsun recess it will consider withdrawing its support because of a succession of moral minority amendments which distort the main principles of the reform. Already the lawyers this week decided to withdraw their support. The Law Society's family law committee, which represents thousands of divorce lawyers, concluded the latest haggling had reduced the reform to "a mess, creating more problems than it solves". By itself, this might suggest the reform was still on line. No one should be surprised by lawyers opposing a bill which aims to replace the present acrimonious lawyer-led process by a mediator-directed procedure. Yet, to be fair, the main body of divorce solicitors — unlike divorce barristers — have a good track record of support for divorce reform.

Labour's legal affairs spokesman, Paul Boateng, has already described the revised package as "a dog's dinner". Undoubtedly what was once one of the most carefully crafted packages to be laid before Parliament in the last decade — two separate reports from the Law Commission plus a government white paper — has now been distorted by an unholy alliance of populists, moralists and divorcees on the Tory benches. Where once the bill opted for a 12-month period in which separating couples would be required to consider the consequences of divorce — on the advice of family researchers who said extending the uncertainty further would not benefit the couple's children — the period could now extend to 21 months. Where once the concept of fault was removed from the divorce procedure — because of the increase in acrimony and retaliation it generates — it can now be introduced through the backdoor with courts able to look at conduct in determining disputed claims over children or finance. And where once all couples were going to be offered mediation, they will now be required to meet one and hear what is on offer.

None of these changes is trivial, but they do not raise points of principle but issues of political judgment: how long should people wait; judicial discretion to consider conduct on disputed issues; the need for people to meet a mediator, even though they cannot be forced to participate in mediation. Wrong though these amendments may have been, they hardly

constitute sufficient grounds for sinking the biggest reform of divorce in 26 years. Moreover, some of the changes which prompted the withdrawal of lawyers' support, were supported by Labour in committee: the introduction of a three-month quarantine period to promote reconciliations before an 18-month waiting period begins. Ditching the bill now would mean abandoning a crucial provision, achieved over ministerial objections, of splitting pensions more fairly on divorce as well as enhanced protection for women set out in the domestic violence section.

The suspicion remains that politics is motivating some Labour opponents of the bill. A defeat would be the first loss of a major piece of Government legislation since John Major became Prime Minister in November, 1990. It would certainly be a blow to the Government's authority, reinforcing its image of incompetence and lack of control. But at what price? Does Labour really want to align itself with the rabble on the right who have done so much to frustrate this reform? If Labour was ready to come back in its first term of office with the original bill, as drafted by the Law Commission, that might be different. But there's no guarantee. Governments of both main parties have ducked the reform of divorce for 26 years. Neither has ever put it in an election manifesto. It remains the one social policy from which all political parties instinctively shrink. Better embrace an existing but imperfect bill, than wait for Labour's faultless model. Further delay would cause more damage than this flawed bill.

Nature and the beast

THE Chelsea Flower show has been notable this week for gardeners using hair driers to trick their blooms into flower. Cricketers have shivered, common flowers and native trees are more than a month behind and a walk in Britain this bank holiday may be to risk frostbite. May 1996 is shaping up to be the coldest on record in one of the latest ever springs. Anyone remember last year's heatwaves or that May 1995 was the warmest ever? Clearly we are in climate chaos, with no idea what normal weather now is. The scientific consensus is that we are seeing the onset of man-induced climate change. It suggests that we are burning so much fossil fuel that the world is heating up and it predicts sea level rises and just the sort of weather extremes that we are experiencing. But another theory is gaining ground. Called the Howard Hypothesis (HH) it proposes that the Home Secretary is entirely responsible for the lousy weather which Britain is now enduring. Consider: Mr Howard is a famously cold man. No beakerful of the warm South here, no sunny disposition, only a bleak, unforgiving northern latitude disposition. Under his thrall the political skies have darkened, the Tories' colour, once true blue, has turned deep grey and the perpetual cumulus over Westminster evidently reflects the thinking within. Howard, an economic and social dry

(notice the numbe of droughts in the past five years) is said to be an unnatural force in the land and Nature, so the Howard Hypothesis goes is rebelling against him much as a boy tries to reject a foreign object lodged within. First signs of Nature fighting Mitochondria were seen in the summer of 1993 when the environment secretary travelled to the Earth Summit. He climbed zower to reach the canopy of the Amazon rainforest, gasped at the beauty of the trees, claimed he would protect the world and was promptly dive-bombed by angry bees. Stung into action by environmentalists, he signed Britain up to the Rio Convention and Agenda 21, which committed us to fairness in trade, freedom of information, equality, sustainable development, the elimination of poverty, a widening of democracy and protection of all species. Since then the natural ad social environments can be shown to have markedly deteriorated with more crime, more prisons, more cars, more ozone emissions, more destruction of nature and more species loss than ever. HH suggests that May 1996 is Nature's revenge on Mr Howard's hubris. But if Britain gets weather that reflects its politicians, what can we expect of New Labour? The evidence is so far scanty, but Bangladeshi meteorologists may give us some early clues. Many of the cyclons that regularly lash with appalling ferocity the most vulnerable people in the poorest country in the world build around the Andaman islands in the Ba of Bengal. Here there are rosy sunsets, grand views over normally calm, sifting seas and the main town is Port Blair.



Slight justice is no justice

The West's fears of getting in too deep in Bosnia means Karadzic and Mladic may not face trial. Can we allow them to get away with murder, asks MARTIN WOOLLACOTT. Illustration by PETER TILL

WE KNOW their faces better than those of many of our own leaders. There is the one who looks like a stand-up comedian, with his absurd plume of hair. The other has a carnivorous appearance, like the boss of a sausage factory who eats too many of his own wares. Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic dominated the war and, for the last few weeks have been dominating what can be called the peace in Bosnia. The question of whether Karadzic, in particular, is going to end up in The Hague, facing war crimes charges, or whether he

will continue to control the Bosnian Serb republic he created, has been much discussed. The compromise seems to be that he will do neither. It's unsatisfactory, and not yet confirmed, but if it is, it will be better than nothing.

The future of what was Yugoslavia is still in contention, as it was during the actual fighting between those outside forces who want merely to contain the conflict, and those with at least slightly more radical ideas. The destruction of Karadzic and perhaps Mladic as well could serve either purpose.

For those who want true intervention, it could lead on to more vigorous action both within Bosnia and against Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman in Serbia and Croatia. For those who merely want containment, it would be a limited process but one dramatic enough to legitimise the decisions made at Dayton.

The tale is a tangled one. The Clinton administration has been bombarded by calls for Karadzic's and Mladic's arrest. Meanwhile, Carl Bildt, the chief of the civilian international effort in Bosnia, had been trying to out-manoeuvre Karadzic by building up the more moderate prime minister of Serbian Bosnia, Rajko Kasagic, who seemed established in Banja Luka, which is a real town, while Karadzic languished in dismal Pale.

Kasagic was responding well to the inducements of international aid, and was ready to say, at least, that he was open to returning. If things had gone according to plan, John Major's trip to Banja Luka yesterday would have been part of this process of building up Kasagic, which was helped by the recent deployment of British troops to a base outside that town. But Karadzic made Kasagic an offer he could not refuse, and replaced him with one of his cronies.

Bildt was angry. Richard Holbrooke, who pushed the Dayton Accord through, was both furious and tendentious. "If Karadzic gets away with it, it will lead to the partition of the country," he said, ignoring his own role in that process. Richard Goldstone, the prosecutor at the UN War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, says the arrest of Karadzic and Mladic would be "not only in the interests of justice but in the interests of peace".

Now there is a report that Clinton's special envoy has secured a promise from Milosevic that Karadzic will take a political back seat. This was the deal that Bildt first brokered, but with Kasagic in place. Even so, the idea is still that Karadzic's influence will wane and his men in time lose

their places. How could Milosevic favour the arrest of Karadzic, or Mladic? In The Hague, they could implicate him in a way that could not be ignored by the most cynical outside government. From Milosevic's point of view, it would be far better if Karadzic died or disappeared. Yet that might also prove troublesome. Meanwhile, there are still gains, like American recognition of Serbia, to be extracted from Washington while negotiating among other things, on the fate of Karadzic.

The contradiction at the heart of western policy in former Yugoslavia is that between using, and placating, the existing regimes in Serbia and Croatia and pursuing just solutions in Bosnia. Tudjman provided the military instrument that brought the Serb terror to an end. Milosevic has brilliantly survived throughout by offering himself as the means of disciplining the Bosnian Serb regime, while never quite delivering. The Dayton accord was built on the foundation of

Herods and villains

Croatian military strength and Serbian diplomatic co-operation. There are evident weaknesses in both the civilian and the military structures set up at Dayton. Nobody is in overall command of both. Carl Bildt has limited powers and resources and is obliged to pursue his purposes by subterfuge and by giving or withholding economic aid. Nevertheless, he represents the more activist school and is supported, intermittently, by European governments.

The American military, which dominates the Implementation Force, is naturally inclined to take a minimalist view of its role. The Powell doctrine of "bring the boys safe home" reigns supreme, and a model of policy based partly on the operation in northern Iraq is the preferred one.

General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was it may be remembered, in overall charge of that Iraqi operation. In retrospect, the essentials were a short period of military occupation, allowing civilian officials to get on with aid and reconstruction, followed by a withdrawal on schedule and the setting up of an aerial rapid reaction force in the event of a relapse.

Nothing unusual then in Sue Douglas's actions on taking over at the Sunday Express. In came some new faces, and out went some old hands.

Whether Ms Douglas's recruitment programme was entirely judicious is a matter of opinion. Certainly the readership's delight on encountering all this fresh talent did not appear to match that of the editor. But then lifting the circulation of such an ailing newspaper is a task akin to parting the Red Sea. This week, she found herself confronting a rather different biblical saga when Graham Jones, her former assistant editor, took her to an industrial tribunal claiming unfair dismissal and sexual discrimination.

Ms Douglas, he claimed, had acted as "a King Herod in reverse" — not killing babies but riding herself of unwanted male employees. Let us not dwell on the gruesome spectacle of this slaughter of the innocents, except to record that Mr Jones, who is 44, won on the dismissal and lost on the discrimination.

His victory does not reflect well on his editor. Naturally no one would condone the flourishing of good employment practice. But the most extraordinary thing is that this case ever saw the light of day.

All editors, men and women catapulted into difficult and vulnerable positions, wish to be surrounded not only by people of talent but by those with whom they feel comfortable. Those who do not, for whatever reason, fulfil the criteria may be dismissed. It is not a nice business and Ms Douglas did not, as the tribunal chairman made clear, behave very nicely. But then Max Hastings hardly acquired

Mary Riddell

THE ARRIVAL of a new boss in the workplace is traditionally accompanied by the rattle of P45s and the scratch of fountain pen on redundancy cheque. Nowhere is this custom more prevalent than in newspaper offices, where incoming editors have a particular, and often understandable, fondness for rearranging the deck chairs.

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fairly godmother status on becoming editor of the *Evening Standard*, where the bodiliness reached Culloden proportions. Neither did other male editors in the same situation.

I do not however recall those they let go taking the Jones route. Indeed, if every sacked employee sought similar redress, the industrial tribunals of Britain would resemble the glassware department of Harrods on the first day of the sale or the courts of law on Michael Howard has thoughtly lapsed on sentencing a poily.

The dismal conclusion is that the Sue Douglas case and particularly the discrimination dimension, reflected the fact that she is a youngish, pretty woman who wears sort skirts. "I would have been treated differently if I had been a woman," said Mr Jones. Maybe. But it is not long since women were treated very nicely in newspapers as long as their tea-making and typing skills were in full working order.

Happily, much has change. It is palpably absurd these days to suggest that, in general, there is any distinction between the sexes. A clutch of talented women are now edited or deputy-edited national newspapers. Their male colleagues have no problem, or none that I have ever noticed, in working to their agenda.

Highly-placed women in newspapers are not, as this case might suggest, more ruthless or unscrupulous or neurotic than men. Nor are they sexist, agist and therefore averse to white-haired men in middle age, who are invaluable as an endless font of illumination on obscure topics, such as where the supplement planned in the event of the Queen Mother's death is to be found and who scored the last goal for Sheffield Wednesday.

Clearly Ms Douglas and Mr Jones did not have this mutually-supportive working arrangement. Much as I sympathise with his plight, I do feel that she emerges as the greater victim of discrimination by a behaviour which still decrees that a system which still decrees that a man is less so in a woman. And what of other Mr Joneses who may feel themselves afflicted by the King Herod syndrome? They could further consult the Bible and reflect woe-fully on the fall of Achan. On the other hand, they could follow the 11th commandment and grovel hopefully to the new boss. Irrespective of sex.

Mary Riddell was deputy editor of *Today* newspaper

Smallweed



IF AS has been suggested, Jude the Obscure breaks the Motion Picture breaks Thomas Hardy in the cinema world, ("the film is set to do for Hardy)... what Sense and Sensibility did for Jane Austen" according

to one press report) the only surprise will be that it has taken so long. T H's novels are stuffed full of topics beloved of American audiences — chiefly sex, dread diseases, fatal accidents and capital punishment. It was unfortunate that Hardy's last cinematic foray — *Tess*, some 17 years ago — was masterminded by director Roman Polanski, a man handicapped in his ability to publicise the film in North America by dint of a warrant for his arrest on allegations of sexual relations with a minor.

Jude, by contrast, is off to a flying start, with Hardy's biographer Martin Seymour-Smith tearing into director Michael Winterbottom over the no doubt artistically essential nude scene involving actress Kate Winslet. If that doesn't pull them in nothing will, but as Hardy's big novels

head of the Hollywood treatment, what will be left for the "sensitive adaptations" upon which Britain's studios pride themselves?

SMALLWEED is as fed up to the teeth as the next man with all that blether about how notoriety, fame, infamy and genuine stature have all been blended together by the "cult of celebrity", but we are forced to agree that there may be something in it. Central to this conversation is R M Smythe & Co, Inc, of 26 Broadway, New York. This historic-paper specialist is advertising internationally its latest big autograph auction, to be held on June 8.

"Top Secret World War Two Stalin documents to be sold" it declares, adding that papers endorsed by Winston Churchill and presidents Roosevelt and Truman will also be on offer. So far, fair enough. Then, having detoured briefly around Napoleon and Lincoln, Smythe's publicity takes us brightly to "Cinema" including "Leslie Howard and Gene With The Wind". Take your pick then: the century's biggest mass murderer or one of its most boring films.

IT IS NOT the European Union that John Major should be gunning for, but the far more sinister European Broadcasting Union, the annual "song" contest of which, as witnessed a week ago, represents nothing less than a conspiracy by the small European countries to heap humiliation on the large ones. This year, mighty Germany was blown away in the qualifiers. Nuclear-armed France was dispatched on the voting, as was an entity called "Royaume-Uni". Mean-

while, the pumpernickel principalities of Europe cheerfully awarded each other musical superpower status. Slovakia, Malta and Estonia exchanged warm smiles with the Norwegian hosts prior to the lading of their brethren with huge numbers of points. The less offensive the country's international persona, the more enormous the score. Needless to say, the oldest hands at this game, the Irish, not only won but have in the days since victory come up with an entirely new angle on the EBU's ritual punishment of Europe's heavyweights.

The one drawback to winning, of course, is that you face a £2.5 million bill for hosting the 1997 contest. Or rather, you do, unless you can persuade someone else into going Dutch, so to speak. Thus on Monday, the Irish Times reported suggestions that next year's event should be staged in Belfast or Derry "as a symbolic peace gesture". This would have the entire peaceful side effect of sticking the EBU in the back. Should that fail, Irish Labour MP Joe Costello has an even bolder suggestion — Brussels should pay half. When, inevitably, this proposal comes before the Council of Ministers, Major should show his mettle by giving it the "between the eyes" treatment, gumming up both the EU and the EBU in one stroke. Now that's diplomacy.

A BAD WEEK for cads, dowry-hunters and gold-diggers — American researchers claimed a 97 per cent accuracy rate in the prediction of the success or failure of particular marriages. The would-be couple face a 45-minute interrogation: facial reactions to certain questions are video-

taped, adrenalin flow and heartbeat are monitored, and the ambience is more suggestive of a friendly chat with the anti-terrorist squad than of pre-marital counselling. One organisation bound to be excited by this breakthrough has to be the Church of England. For years, it has made its own low-tech stab at "success/divorce" prediction, one of the more recent being a short questionnaire for the betrothed entitled, *How Deep Is Your Relationship?*

Balancing this document on one knee while grappling with a sherry glass and a Biro is a feature of those gruesome "informal talks", attendance at which is required of the Anglican couple. But once the coast of this latest York knowledge comes down, those interviews will never be the same again, although the thought of C of E clergymen struggling with lie detectors and blood-testing equipment brings to mind those Dad's Army jokes about the "vicar's apparatus".

A MAGNIFICENT response to our modest proposals to extend the "code of ethics" of rugby's league and union into other fields of activity. This is not surprising. After all, to the English mind, division of any sort — whether the partition of Cyprus or the break between Mods and Scooter-boys — is prima facie, a "tragedy", resulting from some dreadful misunderstanding. One of the ideas we have received addresses perhaps the deepest fault line in our society: the straight glass v. jug debate. Now is the time for the two sides to get round the table and thrash out a compromise. There has never been a better opportunity. We implore them, take a risk for peace.

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Passive observers in our own front rooms



Martin Kettle

STEPHEN Cameron died the loneliest of deaths, knifed by a complete stranger on a motorway slip-road after a driving dispute, and then ignored. But in a society as integrated by news media as ours, such an event is now a vicariously shared experience.

Like the Jam's Bulger killing, it is an instant parable both of individual pathology and collective negligence. After such a shock, it is inevitable that we spend time debating whether things are worse now than they were in the past. Most people instinctively assume that they are, but it is important to realise that throughout history human beings have always taken the gloomy view. My school motto was Fortem Posce Animum, which roughly translated (I think) means Seek a Strong Spirit, and as such-formers some of us did just that at the Woodman on Friday nights. It was only later that I discovered that the words come from Pliny, warning two thousand years ago about how much more danger-

ous it had become to go out on the streets of Rome at night since he was a boy. We habitually dramatise the present, and the unknown future frequently seems more dangerous than the known past. People often worry much more about trivial things that have not happened than about hair-raising things that are over and done with. This can lead to major self-delusion. This week the Social Affairs Unit published a report on bad behaviour that was revealingly entitled *Generality Recalled*. But there never was a golden age of infinite mutual respect and unalloyed common decency. It only seems that way. But surely there can be no argument that our civic and social bonds are actually

under threat? Again, most people would instinctively agree. They say that people today are too possessive, too aggressive, too lacking in responsibility. Dignity and privacy are besieged. Public virtues are derided. Public service is seen as an excuse for private greed. Public spaces have been turned into places of threat rather than repose. Parliament has just been debating the Noise Bill, which aims to force local authorities to be tougher on noisy neighbours and loud parties, quintessential anti-social phenomena of our times. We can and should argue at length about how, when and why these things came to pass, but the current weakness of the civic bond cannot seriously be in dispute. It is in urgent need of remedial and creative attention. This is the single most important issue of our times. It is also one which is high on Tony Blair's agenda, and which informs both his rhetoric and appeal. People respond to his talk about a more cohesive society. Yet translating talk into action is very hard. We may all

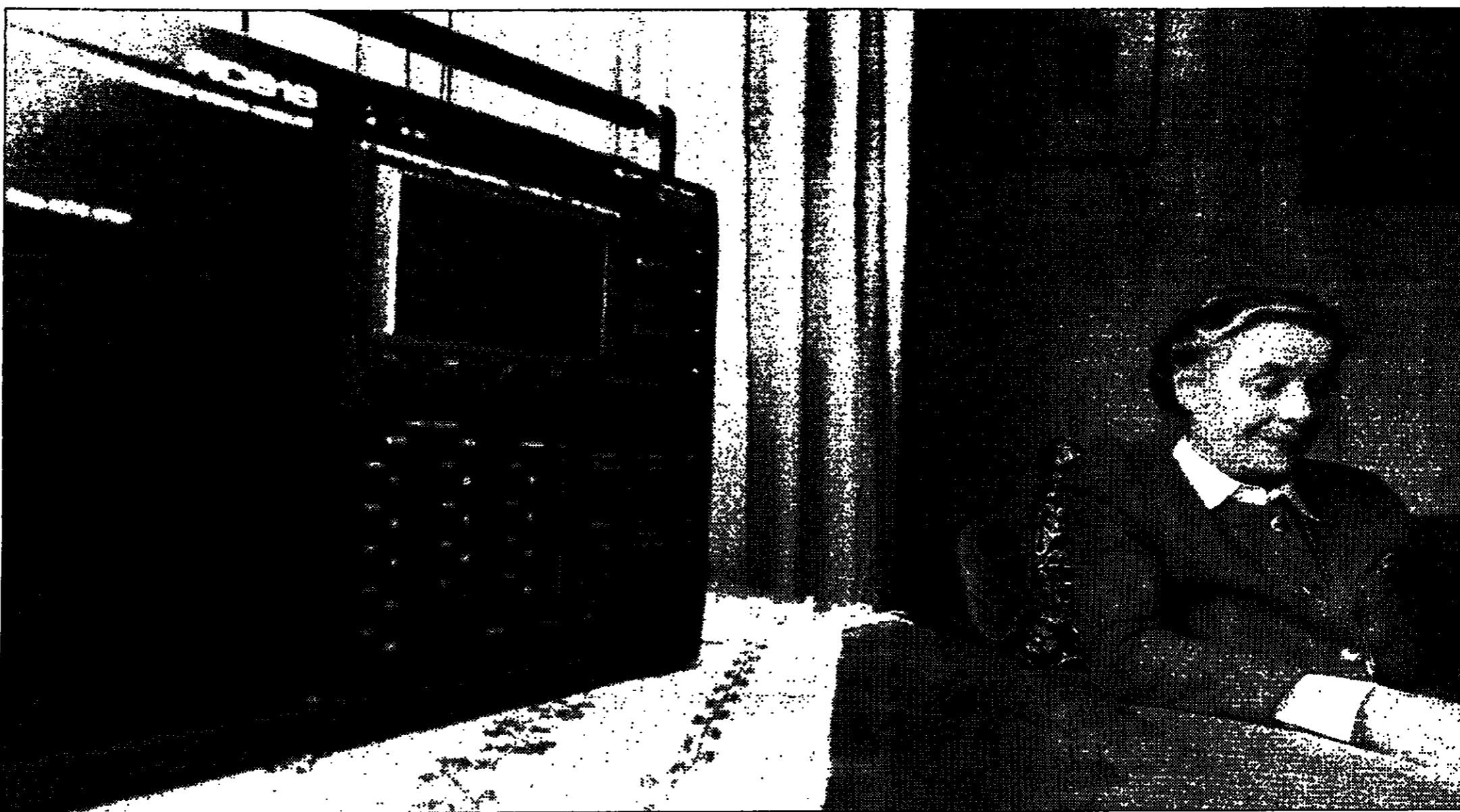
disapprove of road rage, but in the end it is down to individuals to control it. At the same time, it is important not to underestimate the residual strength of the bonds which still survive. We should not assume that those who now seek to encourage greater social cohesion and civic engagement have no bricks with which to build. The important thing is to know how to assemble them, and how to care enough to try. At a fascinating lecture this week organised by the Citizen-ship Foundation, Professor Ivor Crewe of Essex University put some new facts and figures into the public arena which are both daunting and illuminating for this task. Crewe and an American colleague, Donald Scaring, have just completed a research survey comparing the meaning of citizenship in Britain and the United States. And one of their prime findings is that, in contrast to the American preoccupation with legal rights and duties, British people strongly associate citizenship with membership of a community. One respondent summed it

up by saying: "I don't consciously think of myself as a citizen, I am English and I live in Brentwood". Two-thirds of the British part of the survey agreed (even if they didn't actually live in Brentwood). When they were asked whether they principally associated the word "citizen" with membership of a community or the possession of legal rights and duties, they chose community. Unlike Americans, for whom citizenship is about laws and voting, the British equate citizenship with participation, with involvement in civic associations and with community groups. THAT, at least, is the theory. But the gap between theory and practice is wide. This kind of civic engagement is in extensive decline. Crewe asked his respondents about their actual connections with other citizens, he found that a third of British people do not engage in any sort of community activity at all and that only one in 10 do so even occasionally. Since "community activity" covered such

modest initiatives as making contact with neighbours, the picture is of a society which is retreating rapidly and decisively into the privacy of its own homes. Not only that, Crewe's research also describes a society which does not talk about public issues. Offered a list of 14 topics, ranging from Europe and the economy to local schools and traffic, he found that two out of three British respondents had either no conversation at all on any of them during the preceding month, or had only discussed them once or twice. Half of them thought such discussions were irrelevant anyway. Very few thought that public discourse was in any sense a duty. A clear majority believe that it is best not to discuss politics at social gatherings. For when people close the door on the world outside, they do what we all do — they switch the television. Every generation is less engaged with the world outdoors than its predecessors, for TV viewers are not joiners but loners. The average person watches

around four hours of TV a day, an activity which takes up nearly half of their free time. In front of the box they can learn more about public events — like Stephen Cameron's death — than any previous generation. But their knowledge (and their doubtless genuine concern) is not matched by any form of activity, let alone any activity which might reduce the likelihood of such events recurring. So the good news is that we feel a strong commitment to communities. The bad news is that we do nothing about it, with the result that those very bonds deteriorate. Human beings today are not significantly cruder or ruder than they ever were. If anything rather the opposite. But we have become passive observers of our own lives, mere spectators of our triumphs and misfortunes. We are not ignorant of how we might be different, nor unaware of the effects of our failure to change. As Crewe says, quoting Seamus Heaney's metaphor about life, we need to start it up, to keep it running and to start it up again.

Their numbers are few and they hail from the genteel middle class, but the angry listeners of BBC radio pack a big punch: just ask Gerry Anderson, or the newly ousted Paul Gambaccini. JOHN CUNNINGHAM meets the guardians of the airwaves



Tuned in... Mrs Jocelyn Hay, founder of listeners' group VLV. PHOTO: GRAHAM TURNER

Sound and fury of Middle England

P AUL Gambaccini's Sunday brunch last weekend, in that cliché of a London showbiz eatery, Joe Allen, stretched well into the morning. But while wine and chat were in companionable flow, the BBC was putting out an announcement that Gambaccini, the classical music presenter who allegedly causes apoplexy at many tables, is to leave Radio 3 after only a year. The news brought more comfort than the Epilogue that night to angry listeners — scores, certainly, hundreds, probably, thousands, of those who can't stand Gambaccini's North American accent; can't forgive him for not being insufficiently knowledgeable about classical music; and won't forgive his Morning Chores for shunting their beloved Composer Of The Week to noon. They feel it Ought Not To Be Allowed. Or, as one complainant put it: "His hour of sugar had the tartar rising in tides all along my dental work." It's easy to write off such listeners as greyheads poking through the moth-eaten patches of Middle England; longing for the sepulchral tones of old-style BBC announcers, forming self-important protest groups, and sending let-

ters to the Daily Telegraph. But their influence is extraordinary. Very few consumer or shareholder pressure groups manage to topple their hate figures. In spite of the huge outcry against them, Cedric Brown of British Gas and Trevor Newton of Yorkshire Water, left in their own time, hands ringing with gold. By contrast — and however diplomatically the BBC puts it — an established national presenter (18 years with Radio 1, 12 on Kaleidoscope) is not having his Radio 3 contract renewed in September because of public pressure. And before the fall of Gambaccini, angry listeners brought about the banishment from Radio 4 of Gerry Anderson, whose accent and attitudes put his show, *Anderson Country*, on the hitlist the moment Middle England clapped ears on it. Thousands of complaints were sent to Chris Dunkley of Radio 4's Feedback and, of course, much of the protest is diffuse. However, unlike shareholders' or utility users' organisations, the broadcasting protesters are tiny, infantile. And not all of them are Daily Telegraph readers. When headteacher Ian Gordon had a letter in the Guardian last July about controller Nicholas Essoy's regime at Radio 3, the replies led him to set up the Save Radio 3 Campaign. The wave against Gambaccini has rolled to his door

in Kent, bringing some 270 letters. "Sixty to 70 per cent of them say, 'This man's got to go'. I feel sorry for him, but he's got three or four other broadcasting things he does," says Mr Gordon. Sent sympathy, some from the largest pressure group, the Voice of the Listener and Viewer, founded by and chaired by Mrs Jocelyn Hay. She says: "We're not calling it a victory. We certainly don't crow over people and he has been very successful on other programmes." Very prim, Mrs Hay, but you can bet many elderly listeners relish a triumph that will ensure the four and there's honey for tea. Why else are they campaigning? VLV is a very proper organisation. It may be run from Mrs Hay's bungalow in Kent, but it has the ear of everyone at the Beeb from the DG down: it may have only 2,500 members, but it monitors their groans by computer. And most of all, it has the very determined 68-year-old Mrs Hay, "army wife" she says, who has lived in half a dozen foreign countries, is a member of the Women's Institute and the Soroptimists, has worked in services broadcasting and for Woman's Hour. Lord Keith would be proud of her enunciation — and lucky to get a word in edgewise. Mrs Hay, cosy in her cherry

cardigan, taps the Radio Times that next week promises smashes of Beebown, Purcell, Holst and Prokofiev, hosted by Mr G, and explains the exasperation of Middle England: "They changed the format, they brought in someone who was associated with a commercial rival (Gambaccini did a stint at Classic FM, I don't want to be racist or xenophobic because I'm not, but he was perceived to be different because he had a different accent. Had they brought him in to present *Composer Of The Week*, there would have been hardly any outcry." It's this last statement that's the key to much of the fury. It's the pace of change. If only they did it gradually, says Mrs Hay, giving the word the full four syllable aerobic stretch. Suddenly, you begin to make sense of the sound of Middle England: it is to do with daily

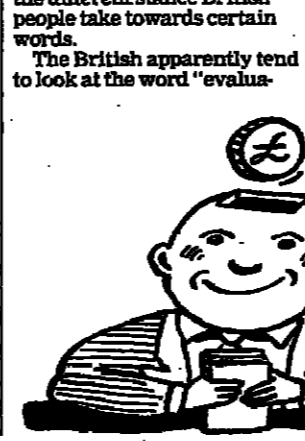
domestic duties being disturbed by a different voice or a different timing or packaging of a programme. Mid-toned Ian Gordon, who retired from teaching at 50, sees that "slack presenters and superfluous talk", and radio's concentration on popular classics: "You'd think Beethoven wrote only two works; the Fifth and the Ninth symphonies," he says. You begin to perceive the obsessive mindset of some disgruntled listeners — a term Mr Gordon doesn't reject, with his detestation of the trend towards playing single movements rather than the whole work. Just as the videoed Jane Austen offends his idea of intellectual integrity, "I bitterly regret that people are deprived of the complete vision of genius in the arts," he says. For Rachael Mawood, who founded a small group to keep an ear on Radio 4 (called ap-

propriately, Radio 4 Watch) vigilance is all about ensuring the channel remains "world class", as she puts it. It's an admirer by foreigners, which she should not allow to be tarnished by falling standards, she argues. But come down to specific grouches, and it's back to Gerry Anderson. He was anathema because "he didn't seem to like anyone. He was so scornful and belittling. People won't forgive him for that." It was not the Northern Ireland accent that Mrs Mawood objected to: it was the much more serious, getting the Anderson's attitudes damaged relations between the British and the Irish. What emerges from all these criticisms and concerns is that for such listeners radio isn't the sound wallpaper it's become for millions of others. It's literally a valued friend they make time for in their daily schedules. And they are loyal. The radio audience is one of peculiar loyalty. It's one that television producers would give their right arms for," Mrs Hay beams. If presenters don't engage with listeners, the listeners are put off, alienated. Alienated. That's a strong word for Mrs Hay, who, disavowing that she is in any way a Little Englander, sees radio as a vital way of binding disparate Britain together, a

force for good that mustn't be damaged. Press her, and she has a gut feeling that things might fall apart, but she can't put it any more strongly or specifically than that. It's nice of her to worry, but it is an odd anxiety to have. The specific threat she does mention is that in its fight with commercial rivals to do well in the ratings, radio might be the casualty the BBC is prepared to lose. We're on the side of the broadcasters, she insists, and VLV has, she claims, scored some notable behind-the-scenes victories, getting the corporation for the first time to make promises to the public in its new charter, and persuading the Government to take only 36 per cent rather than 80 per cent as it planned from the sale of BBC transmitters. That's all very altruistic, and it's reflected in the VLV newsletters. Most are filled with briefing notes on conferences and symposia, and BBC staff appointments. But right at the back is where the readers let rip. And some of them are a very different bunch from Mrs Hay. "It is suggested that we lose credibility by always whingeing. But when one considers the degree to which radio is trivialised, what can we do but complain and make suggestions," moans Mr J Busbridge of Ripon.

As most producers are under 35, Mrs M Patterson of Nuneaton surmises that "this could fall apart, but she can't put it any more strongly or specifically than that. It's nice of her to worry, but it is an odd anxiety to have. The specific threat she does mention is that in its fight with commercial rivals to do well in the ratings, radio might be the casualty the BBC is prepared to lose. We're on the side of the broadcasters, she insists, and VLV has, she claims, scored some notable behind-the-scenes victories, getting the corporation for the first time to make promises to the public in its new charter, and persuading the Government to take only 36 per cent rather than 80 per cent as it planned from the sale of BBC transmitters. That's all very altruistic, and it's reflected in the VLV newsletters. Most are filled with briefing notes on conferences and symposia, and BBC staff appointments. But right at the back is where the readers let rip. And some of them are a very different bunch from Mrs Hay. "It is suggested that we lose credibility by always whingeing. But when one considers the degree to which radio is trivialised, what can we do but complain and make suggestions," moans Mr J Busbridge of Ripon. Sorry Mr Bradley, but you're about to lose another Radio 4 fixture. After half a century, Saturday Night Theatre is being aired later and at half its length because its audience has fallen from a peak of 6.75 million in the 1980s to a mere 300,000. Maybe the real issue here isn't falling standards on radio so much as the plight of the angry listener. Clearly, they are an endangered species someone should be fighting to preserve.

The news of Gambaccini's departure brought more comfort than the Epilogue to some that night



Poetic evaluation that made Beryl blush

Flattery is getting a vanity publisher everywhere, writes PETER LENNON

BERYL Fleming was thrilled when she received the response to her entry for the International Open Amateur Poetry Competition. "In view of your talent, we also wish to publish your

poem. Threads, in our forthcoming anthology," it read. Already the "evaluation for artist" had made her blush: it was almost "ridiculously flattering", she said. She could not wait to tell her friend and

fellows poet, Mrs Ravenett, of Brighton. But Mrs Janis Ravenett had news for Mrs Fleming — a letter saying: "And Janis, in view of your talent, we wish to publish your poem. Alone and fearful isolated" etc. etc. Mrs Ravenett had also received a flattering "artistic evaluation" of her work, in exactly the same words. This is a particular world of vanity publishing by a circuitous route into which Mrs Fleming, of Worthing, West Sussex, and hundreds of aspiring poets are being tempted (by advertisements in national papers, including the Guardian). Everyone is invited to enter the "international competition" with the pledge that there is "no entry fee, pay-

ments or purchase requirements", and a chance to win £1,000. Although they thought they were dealing with Whitstable in Kent, both women were plugging into a literary medicine show in Owings Mills, Maryland. The correspondence gave no indication that this was an American-based operation. Poems had to be of fewer than 21 lines (to maximise the number of customers gathered in the proposed anthology, called *The Other Side of the Mirror*). Competitors then found themselves invited to fork out £38.95 for the book, if they wanted to see themselves in print. When we tracked down the International Society of Poets, which runs the competition, and asked about these cloned

"evaluations", a spokesman in Maryland claimed the fault was not theirs; it was really the different stance British people take towards certain words. The British apparently tend to look at the word "evaluation" with closer scrutiny than satisfied customers in America. David Alecock, vice-president of the competition, said: "In Great Britain, I guess, the word is looked at much more determinedly than we do." You mean looked at more accurately? "I think people thought they were going to get a critique," Alecock said, "and we do not do that for each individual poem. That is absolutely true." But what could the word

"evaluate" possibly mean other than that the society was going to evaluate the work? Alecock, recognising that the umpire was about to strike, said that in future the word would be changed in brochures intended for Britain. "There is no doubt that this is a kind of vanity publishing," Alecock said. "But we have also been in the business for a very long time, since 1982." Alecock (who has personally only been in the business two months, he admitted) also thought it prudent to mention that they had covered themselves so far as advertising regulations were concerned: "I just want to mention this to you because this is somewhat

different from what people are used to." Alecock promised to fax the names of the British judges of the competition, but failed to do so. Equally the British representative of this business, a Chrys Christy-stout, available at a Mail Order business in Kent, failed to return our call. There is an additional danger if you win: you might find yourself in a gruesome company. A Canadian mass murderer entered one of the society's quarterly contests last year. Clifford Olson, convicted of killing eight girls and three boys in 1982, had written a poem, rather facetiously entitled "Success". He reached the semi-finals before the "judges" caught on and pulled his entry.

Errors of Howard's way

THE central error in Michael Howard's reasoning (A perversion of justice, May 24) has not yet, it seems, been adequately exposed. Speaking to the 1988 Conservative Party conference, Michael Howard said: "Let us be clear. Prison works. It ensures that we are protected from murderers, muggers and rapists, and it makes many who are tempted to commit crime think twice." A welter of evidence contradicts this rhetoric. Most crime is property-related (93 per cent) and nothing to do with murder and rape. Most murders are crimes of passion or wrongs committed by people suffering from clinically diagnosable mental conditions—not people who would be suddenly sobered into not killing by the threat of a prison sentence. Over 60 per cent of imprisonments are for property-related offences. The prison population is now 55,000 and projected by the Home Office to rise to 59,900 by 2004. A massive expansion of the prison building programme since 1982, and the incarceration of an extra 10,000 since 1983, should, according to Mr Howard's logic, have cast a deterrent shadow over large sections of the community and thus reduced crime. In fact, recorded crime has doubled since 1980.

(Dr) Gary Slapper, Law School, Staffordshire University, Leek Road, Stoke on Trent, ST4 2DE.

policy to bind all prisoners hand and foot 24 hours a day? If so, I think this should be disclosed to Parliament and the general public. And surely even that cannot prevent prisoners from committing a wide range of criminal offences, including blasphemy, threatening behaviour, behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace, and even treason.

(Dr) Andrew M Colman, 11 East Avenue, Leicester LE2 1TE.

IMPRISONMENT is not a means of reforming a criminal, or reducing crime, but a punishment that also safeguards the public from that criminal. Here in Liverpool, victims or witnesses of an armed assault are unwilling to come forward because they fear reprisals from the attacker, all too often let out with a suspended or short sentence.

Opponents of minimum sentences clogged in their leafy suburbs should try living here and then they would realise that victims would be in a suspended or short sentence.

Steve Downing, 33 Minister Court, Liverpool L7 9QD

MICHAEL Howard's belief that sentences are too soft is perfectly understandable in his own personal experience. Despite repeated defeats in the courts his behaviour has not changed one iota.

If he had been banged up for a few years with a couple of convicted murderers and a chamber pot it might well have altered his attitude.

John Birtwistle, 60 Stoneale Close, Chippenham SN14 0DD.

The many friends of Eyyad Sarraj

WE WISH to draw attention to the arrest and detention by the Palestinian Authority on May 18 of Dr Eyyad Sarraj, eminent psychiatrist, founding director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Centre, leading human-rights activist and head of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights (Court detains Arafat critic, May 22). Dr Sarraj, exercising his right to free speech, has criticised the Palestinian Authority's human-rights record. He was quoted in the New York Times as saying that the self-rule government was corrupt, dictatorial and oppressive. He was arrested and interrogated for "libel and defamation" by a military judge of the state security court.

He has not been charged or tried, and is being detained without counsel. In view of the unjust nature of his detention, we insist that the Palestinian Authority release him at once.

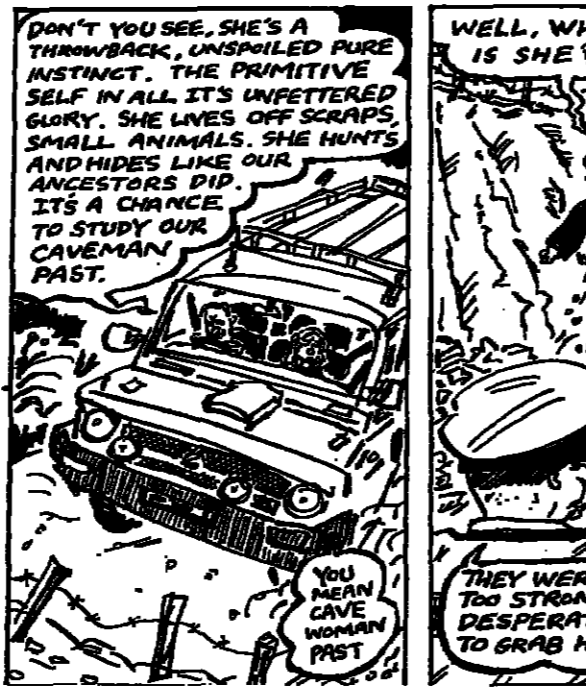
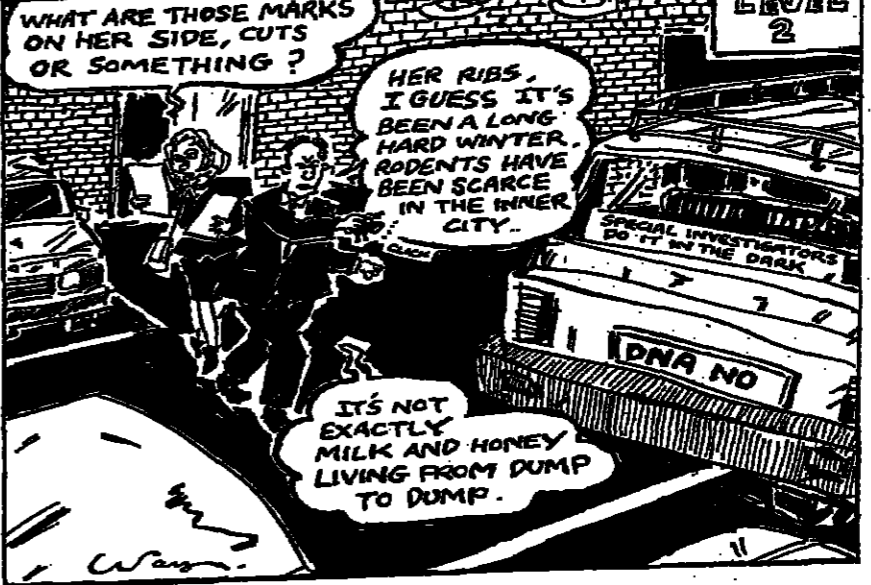
(Prof) Kamal Abu Dib, Adonis.

Hanan Ashrawi, Antonia Fraser, Lord Gilmour, Germaine Greer.

Rana Kabbani, Kanaan Makiya, Harold Plater, Edward Said, Patrick Seale, c/o 52 Campden Hill Square, London W8 7JR.

WE read with alarm your report of the arrest and detention of Dr Eyyad Sarraj. We had the pleasure of meeting Dr Sarraj a few years ago on a visit to Gaza and found him to be the most fervent campaigner for all those human rights denied to the Palestinian population living under Israeli military occupation at the time. It is to Dr Sarraj's credit that he has continued to champion the cause of human rights in the former Occupied Territories and to speak out against abuses. We look forward to hearing of his immediate release.

Julie Christie, Charlotte Cornewell, Andy de la Tour, John Gillett, Kirsty MacColl, Richard Wilson, Susan Woodbridge, c/o 61 Claremont Road, London N6 5DA.



KATE CHARLESWORTH IS AWAY

Solomon facing a clinical task

YOUR leading article about Jayme Bowen (When rights collide, May 23) implies that medical management decisions can be a simple matter if the cost of a particular treatment and the likely success of it are known. However, that is not so. Even where the probable benefit of a procedure is known with accuracy (which was not the case with Chib B), this figure is of use only to a statistician interested in probabilities and is not necessarily helpful when considering an individual patient. There are a host of other considerations which also need to enter into the equation, including the discomfort and possible side-effects of the various available treatments, the general health of the individual patient and the ability of differing patients to cope with alternative treatments. In the final analysis, the desires and expectations of the patient and family must also be taken into account.

In your criticism of Professor Goldman for stating that individual patient characteristics should be considered when assessing the likely benefit of a treatment, you state that it is already "bad enough trying to measure clinical need, likely effectiveness, and cost in the task of health authorities which health authorities are required to undergo".

But it is important to remember that the task of a health authority, as purchaser, is to assess and plan for the health care needs of a whole district, and then to

place contracts with the providers of those services. It is no part of the brief of the purchaser to assess the management of single patients. Decisions involving individual patients should be made by the doctors (as part of the providing arm of the new NHS) who care for them.

Unfortunately, in more and more aspects of clinical medicine today, medical authority is being usurped by NHS managers as health authorities take decisions that should be made by provider units, and hospital managers in their turn erode medical choices.

In contrast to statements that choice can now be freely debated, in fact the reverse is the case. A national debate is not what is required in almost all instances since each case is unique and individual. And the true debates that at one time could take place between patient and doctor have now been replaced by decrees from a faceless manager, or, worse, decisions made by a court of law in the full glare of publicity.

(Dr) Robert Behrman, Lea Barn, Winter Hill, Cookham Dean, Berks SL6 9TW.

I HAVE been involved in analysis of media handling of the Chib B case since the beginning. Two conclusions emerge from such analysis, both confirmed by your editorial. First, from start to finish, nobody has ever reported the thoughts of her mother. Her

A bishop joins battle in the debate over the new reformation

YOUR leading article (The Battle of the Primates, May 24) included a grotesque caricature of the organisational reforms now being considered by the Church of England. You say that these proposals have "prompted extraordinarily little debate" but this is untrue. We have already had two full debates in the General Synod, with more to come. There have been debates in most diocesan synods, at regional meetings and in many parishes. This party reflects the fact that a written summary and audio cassette concerning the proposals was sent to every parish in the country. Comments have poured into Lambeth Palace and there have been numerous discussions in the main bodies affected. Indeed, substantial modifications to the proposals have already been introduced in response to all this debate.

Your second charge is that the reform proposals represent "a Thatcherite vision of the introduction of alien management concepts. This, too, is nonsense. The reforms relate to the central institutions of the Church, and the autonomy of the dioceses and the parishes is completely unaffected.

This is a complete contrast to the erosion of local government associated with the Thatcher years. Moreover, the reforms are grounded in the Anglican tradition of Bishop-on-Synod, whereby episcopal leadership is exercised through consultation and consent of the clergy and laity. The Church should not apologise for seeking to deploy its resources more effectively, but this is in service of theological imperatives and the charge that the reforms are subservient to management theory is groundless.

There has been almost universal agreement that the national institutions of the Church are at present fragmented, and that a more unified and committee-bound Church is to serve the whole nation as well as it should, and if its voice is to be heard clearly, these weaknesses must be tackled. Indeed, it is precisely the Church's commitment to its mission to the whole world that has inspired its efforts to move out of its own house in order.

Michael Dumein, Bishop of Durham, Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham, DL14 7NR.

The patent route to a cure

WE would support widening the debate on genetic engineering issues (Wars of the genes, May 23). But the subject should not be confused with the important issue of patents. Scientists cannot patent life, as David King seems to suggest. A patent is an instrument which grants a right to prevent others making, using or selling somebody else's invention. It involves no concept of "ownership". Indeed, in registering a patent, companies must publicly declare full details—and so increase public knowledge.

Because patents relate to inventions, the patent system is an effective way to enforce any controls society feels are needed to meet concerns over the use of human genes. In fact, it is highly desirable for patent protection to be sought in the area of research into human genes. Prohibition of patents would have an adverse effect on the number of innovative medicines, severely hampering the introduction of new approaches, such as gene therapy, where there exists the very real possibility of a cure for serious disorders. People suffering from these illnesses, their carers and families must not be denied the opportunity for medical advances to be made. Without patents, there would be no cures.

(Dr) Trevor M Jones, Director-general, Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry, 12 Whitehall, London SW1A 2DY.

A Country Diary

NORTH DERBYSHIRE: Every spring the drain in Long Dale needs digging out so the suckler herd can get to water deep enough for stupor. There's an ancient stone trough there somewhere but it's long been covered by stones and silt brought down by the spring water. Anyway, I dug the place out and watched the water flow clear then headed off into the valley. What happened next seemed more like an incident from a century and a half ago, perhaps in Hardy's Desert. The sun had gone down, dusk was rising over the fields as I went along the track beyond the empty farm and saw ahead two figures standing at a bend, seemingly in earnest discussion. As I came close they took the form of young girls, laden with bags. One stepped forward and enquired if this was "the road to E...". It certainly was not, they were going in the opposite direction, every step taking them further from their intended destination. The travellers were aiming for a grandmother's house and they were already very late so I walked along with them for a bit and gave them clear instructions where our ways parted. Heavy clouds had not been denied the opportunity for medical advances to be made. Without patents, there would be no cures.

(Dr) Trevor M Jones, Director-general, Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry, 12 Whitehall, London SW1A 2DY.

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Still enraged

WE CAN go further back than 1980 for the first instance of road rage (Letters, May 23). According to Sophocles, Oedipus, whilst hurrying to Corinth, "cut up" a chariot blocking his path. In the fracas with the charioteer, who would not give way, Oedipus killed him and his passenger, Isabelle Harris, 34 Bulmer Avenue, Hereford HR1 1EJ.

PSYCHOLOGY students might look for a link between road rage and the proliferation of "traffic-calming" schemes. The very name is enough to send a rush of blood to the head. As one for whom a shopping trip involves an obstacle course that would qualify me for active service in a tank regiment, it is unsurprising that I traverse the final sleeping policeman in a rather militaristic frame of mind.

S Hutton-Willson, Priory Cottage, Church View, Evercreech BA4 6FX.

YOUR correspondents and contributors all ignore the most obvious fact about these acts of violence: they are committed exclusively by men. I have yet to see any reports of women motorists stabbing other motorists.

Dave King, Department of Sociology, University of Liverpool, Liverpool L69 3BX.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk. Please include a full postal address and daytime telephone number. We regret we cannot acknowledge receipt of letters.

Cost of a little learning

I WAS interested to read Douglas Trainer's article (Quick fix for students, May 21) in which he explained the National Union of Students' support for Barclays Bank's decision to bid to provide private sector student loans on the grounds that the service would be "a vast improvement on the system run by SLC" with advantages including faster processing and thorough communications with student representatives.

The Student Loans Company operates a postal application process designed to provide the same service to all eligible students regardless of where they are located in the UK. It is not possible for the company to turn round applications in five days. However, around three quarters of applicants receive their loans within 14 days and there are no avoidable delays outwith the company's 21 day performance standard.

As for consultation with students, the company holds regular meetings with a group of student representatives at which they are invited to suggest improvements to the administration of the scheme.

Should Barclays' bid be accepted the company will, of course, co-ordinate its activities with them in order to ensure the best possible service for all students.

Colin Ward, Chief executive, Student Loans Company, 100 Rothwell Street, Glasgow G2 7JD.

Good old Albion

IS IT possible that what the Prime Minister calls "legal operation" has the same meaning as Arthur Scargill's "working to rule"?

Robert A Parker, Woodhouse Lane, Heversham, Cumbria LA7 7EW.

IT WAS the same kind of misplaced national pomposity that led to the famous headline of some years ago: "Storms in Channel isolate Continent."

2 C Hall, Walton Road, Warrington WA4.

MARTIN Kettle (Frogs and Krauts fill heads with hate, May 23) is quite right to evoke August 1914 over September 1938 as the historical jumping-off point for the Tories' beef and bellicosity shambles. However, I wonder how Eurocentric dignity will respond to history's judgement on their masterstroke. I fear that while the loom of war in 1914 became enshrined as the "Guns of August", 1988 posturing will be filed under "Guns in May".

Gavin Greenwood, 80 Ditchling Road, Brighton, Sussex BN1 4SG.

WHAT a glorious first triumph the "war cabinet" has scored in the dispute with Europe. It has blocked a measure to facilitate cross-border co-operation in case of disasters. And they know more about disasters than most—the handling of BSE, for example.

Peter Shield, 20 Willerby Road, Woodthorpe, Nottingham NG5 4PB.

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الجمعة 20 ايار 1998

The scramble is on for the world's worst-behaved parliament - MATTHEW ENGEL drops in on Israel's election

Grave issues behind ballot

THE CEMETERY on the piney slopes of Mount Herzl, on the outskirts of Jerusalem, has a special section for the "Great Leaders of the Nation". There, under a slab far grander than anyone else's, rests Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister who made peace with Yasser Arafat and was murdered by a Jewish fanatic last November. This week his grave was covered with carnations and, in line with custom, pebbles placed by those who had come to pay their respects. A few yards away lies Golda Meir, another former PM and the personification of the Jewish grandmother. She has fewer flowers and pebbles. Next to her is her predecessor Levi Eshkol, with fewer still. Nearby are the graves of more obscure figures -

Speakers of the Knesset and so on - some of whom rated not a single pebble. Even they do better than Robert Maxwell, across the city on the Mount of Olives, whose remains, according to rumour, occasionally get piddled on by Mirror pensioners. Only in Israel could politicians find themselves still being voted on, even in death. This is a country where politics is the national sport and Wednesday Israel's voters will judge the living exponents of the art in an election that makes the Olympics look one-dimensional. There are 21 parties, four of them representing Israeli Arabs, several of them so anti-Arab they would cheerfully extend Israeli sovereignty over most of North Africa and Asia, with possible extra demands for enclaves in Golder's Green and Didbury.

There is even a party called Meretz, which favours peace and civil liberties and less power for rabbinical extremists. It is a Guardian reader's sort of party: in these parts, it is considered mildly left-wing and will probably lose more seats than anyone next week. There is no actual Screaming Lord Goldberg or Rabbi Bunk-offhead. In Israel, the loony parties get elected. Under the almost pure system of PR, people choose one of the national lists and only 1.5 per cent is necessary to get a seat. Until this year it was 1 per cent. This time there is also a separate vote for the prime minister, involving only the leaders of the two main parties, Shimon Peres of Labour and Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu of Likud, the right-winger who wants to put a brake on the peace process, expand the

West Bank settlements and do his best to halt the rush towards an independent Palestine. Only the winner will be able to form a government, and if he fails, there will have to be another election. This is a slight curb on the power of the fringe parties. It means that when they get to the Knesset, they will be able to manoeuvre less and will probably have to shout more - if that is possible. On Monday, the parliament met for its last pre-election meeting, only eight of the 120 members were present and, when I arrived, they were all talking simultaneously. If there is a worse-behaved parliament in the world, I have yet to find it; the House of Commons is not in the same league. At the time, Ehud Barak, the foreign minister, was attempting to discuss war and

peace; one of the Likud leaders, Moshe Katzna, shouted him down for a full eight minutes. The Speaker was trying to keep order in the manner of Joyce Grenfell controlling a nursery class. This was considered one of the Knesset's more decorous days because it was not on television. Under a bizarre election law, candidates, no matter how grand they are, cannot be seen or heard on the screen for the three weeks before voting, except in the time set aside for their own paid commercials. When Barak went to Washington to shake hands with Warren Christopher, the Secretary of State, viewers saw the ministerial hand, and his feet - but not his face. If they feel deprived, they have to watch CNN, BBC or Jordan TV. To arrange a debate, the



Face lift... a Shimon Peres supporter gets an early seat. PHOTOGRAPH: NATHANSON

prime ministerial candidates have to pool their advertising time. Since this particular election is overshadowed by Rabin's assassination, the main candidates are invisible on TV as well. The major rallies have been cancelled; the robust tradition of heckling has been stifled. Netanyahu mainly appears before carefully-veiled groups of supporters: Prime Minister Peres, trying to look as though he is far too busy to

worry about trivialities, has done virtually nothing except schedule safe newspaper photo-ops - a group of schoolchildren here, a passing American film star there. Thus there seems to be no argument going on, even in the bogus, spin-doctored fashion of a British or American election. It is happening, but it is going on among the people themselves. Israelis do not have the inhibitions that affect the English about discuss-

ing religion and politics; if they did they would have nothing to say to each other. The weather is, after all, fairly predictable. And it is fought too on thousands of giveaway T-shirts, window posters, bumper stickers and street-corner signs, held up by clean-cut students who man the busiest road junctions during the rush hours. Virtually all the posters are in the national colours of blue and white; everyone in this election is trying to wrap themselves in the national flag. I passed a group of kids outside the Tel Aviv train station and one had handed me a sticker. "Ah," I said, rhetorically. "I thought, 'So you're for Meretz'." "Not really," he replied. "I like Bibi. But I need money and these bastards are paying me."

Patrick Kelly, Liverpool's new archbishop, is supposed to heal Catholic rifts. So why's he so evasive?

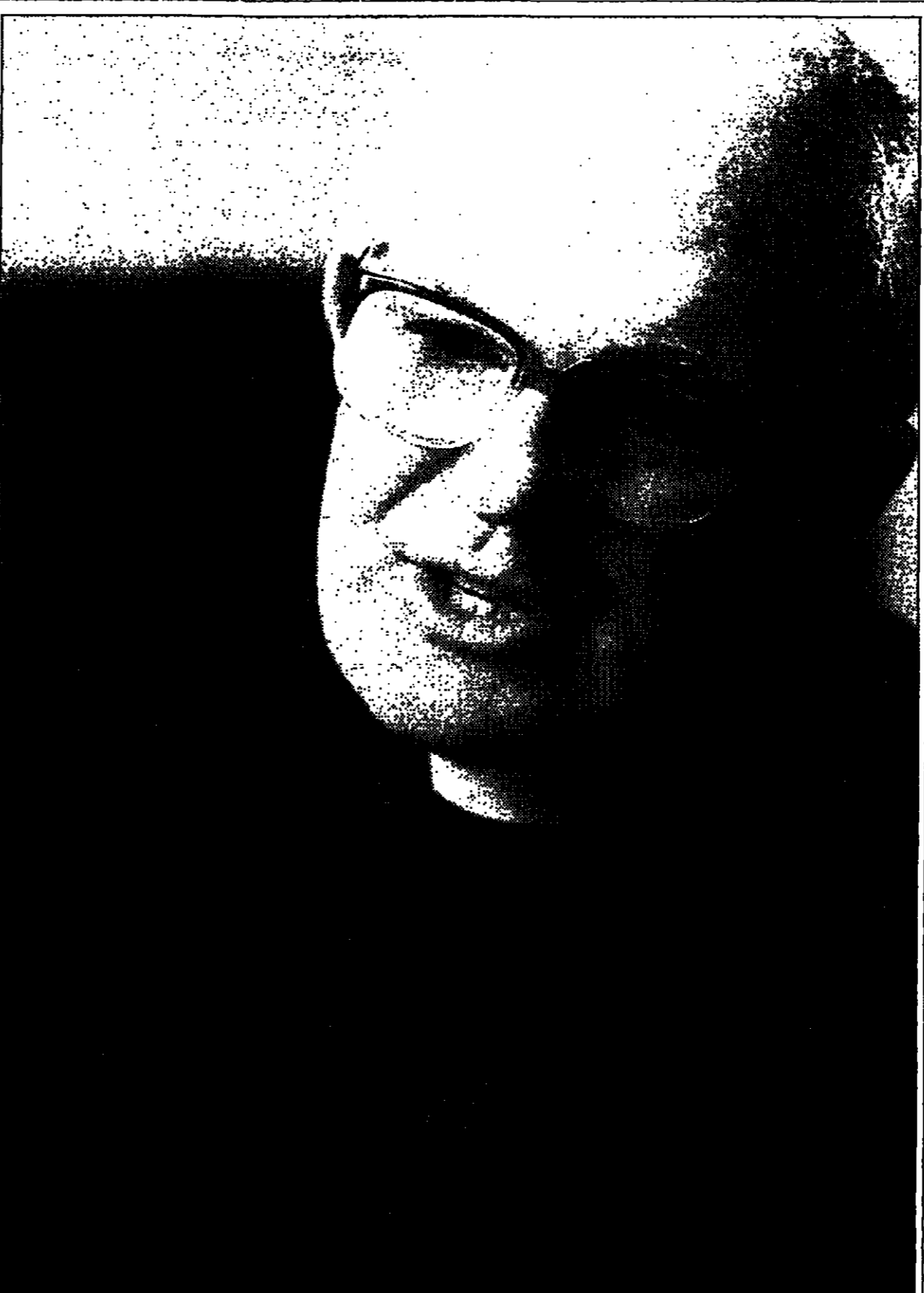
Drafted in to face the canon fire



The Joanna Coles Interview

WHILE his teenage contemporaries at Preston Catholic College were busy lathering on Brylcreem and bopping to Elvis, Patrick Kelly was busy going to mass. In fact, he went every morning, up at 6am for the 6.45am service before shutting the 25 miles to school. The son of a Morecambe dentist, he went on his own. After school, while his contemporaries were smoking Player's and kicking footballs, he would put his hands together at the local prayer group or visit the sick. What, I wonder, was he like as a boy? "I don't know," he says. "My memory's not very good. I can't remember." Well, what made him go to Mass every day? "I don't know." Did his family encourage him? "We went every Sunday as a family, but this, well, my going to Mass every day was a bit different." We are sitting in the Pope's Room at Archbishop's House, adjoining Westminster Cathedral, though no one can actually remember if the Pope stayed in this room or not. Never mind, it was decorated for his last visit in 1982, with a beautiful combination of lemon and cloudy blue. There is a desk, three comfy chairs and downstairs, there has just been a meeting of top-notch Catholic bishops, so we are drinking tea off the very best china. The new Archbishop of Liverpool (he will be translated on June 29) seems rather excited by this. "Ouf, the best china, I don't usually get this," he giggles, fingering the top button of his black, woolly cardigan. Small and apparently genial, he is by most accounts, a popular choice to heal the supposed row within the church between the traditionalists and progressives, recently stirred so effectively by the novelist Alice Thomas Kilgus. He is even supposed to be media-friendly. Hurrah. Aged 57, he has a dog called Ben and admits to the occasional eccentricity. On his starwell he keeps in a polished glass case the skull of the Manchester-born saint, Ambrose Barlow. Has he always believed in God? "Yes. Yes I have." Has he ever had periods of doubt? "Not really. Let me put it another way. I think I can honestly say I've never run away from a question. I'm the sort of person who, with a ques-

tion, well I'm like a terrier with a bone. I stay with it. I cannot rest until, well I can honestly say I've not run away from any questions." This would be a perfectly unremarkable answer, but for one thing. For the next hour, I get the impression that Kelly runs from almost every question I ask. Not just runs, but picks up his mitre and flees. His evasions are made all the odder, by the fact that he nods and murmurs sympathetically throughout our conversation - as if examining each question thoroughly and answering it equally thoroughly. Take, for example, the following question about contraception. Does he think the Pope's stand on contraception puts people, especially young people, off Catholicism? He glances out of the window: "That's not an issue that's been raised with me." I confess I am surprised. It seems to be an important objection to Catholicism. "Sure, sure," he murmurs in his gentle Lancashire accent. "But no one's raised it." What no one? Never, during his nine years at the English College in Rome, (where he studied in Latin), never, during his 18 years lecturing at Oseley college seminary, Birmingham; never, during the following 12 years as Bishop of Salford? He shakes his head. I confess I'm staggered. "Mm, I know, yes, yes. Never?" "No, no. Not in those terms." Does he mean it's come up in other terms? "No, I don't think it has. No, no. No one's raised it." He pauses and then says, unconvincedly, "I'm not listening." Well, let me raise it now, while I know he's listening. Does he think it puts people off the Catholic church? He pauses. "I think it's very important to ask people to go and read the whole letter of [Pope] Paul VI and find exactly what he said." (The encyclical letter, published in 1968, stated that all forms of artificial contraception were wrong.) I suggest this is an unlikely solution, especially when they see the current Pope wandering around the third world and claiming contraception is a sin. He nods again. "Mm, mm. The teaching of the letter, which is what the Pope also proclaims, is that you hold together two meanings in sexuality; unity, love and the aspect which leads to new life. It's often presumed to be a negative teaching. I think, again, I mean what I'm saying is, there's no short cut." But here he is, the next Archbishop of Liverpool, a city drenched in Catholicism and yet being at the bottom of the Mass attendance league. Surely he must have a view on what's gone wrong, on whether or not young people



Patrick Kelly... 'It could be that I'm not a good listener'

are put off his faith by its teachings on contraception. "They have never said that to me." But what does he think? If he doesn't think it's the case, why doesn't he just say so? "It may be. I don't think there is one overriding cause." We get no further on the question of married priests. "Again, it's not a thing which has been sharply brought as a problem," he insists. Then he adds, again unconvincedly: "It could be that I'm not a good listener, that may be it." This is a bizarre suggestion, he listens like a mynah bird, head poised for any nuance. He puts his hands quietly in his lap. "Well nobody has swinging John the Baptist's head by his hair. As I turn back, an ivory crucifix promptly looms behind Kelly's right shoulder. He smiles, his manner apparently cozy and cheerful. But just occasionally one glimpses something harder, something altogether less sympathetic. "If anyone says to me: 'I'd like to know about Jesus' I say:

'Start by reading the Gospels and attending to every detail in them, then we'll start talking.' I murmur that perhaps there's another, less academic way to arouse people's interest? He repeats something he has said earlier and which, after nine years of studying, he clearly believes: "There are no short cuts." "What, I ask, did he enjoy about his 18 years teaching?" "Um, I don't know. But I did, and I do, mm mm." Does he remember any outstanding pupils? "Nobody standing out, but lots of fine people, mm, mm." Well, what about his first memory as a priest? "Good memories, mm, mm. Oh thanks for jogging my memory. The very first house I visited, I went to see an old lady, this was what I'd been preparing for... She just looked at me and said: 'Oh well, I suppose a lot of good can come in small parcels.' He slaps his knees and squeals with laughter. "That's memory number one. Oh, Mrs Rudden," he says at the thought of her, laughing so much he almost has to wipe his eyes. So how will bring his Liverpoolian flock back into church? "There's no magic cure. I come back to what's always been true. The only way is the powerful witness of good Christians. Nothing else has ever worked." But if there are fewer and fewer of them around? "I know. It's a vicious circle, it is. It is."

the civilising of these horrid beasts - men. I don't see it as my vocation to be a civilising influence on anyone. Graham Lord, critical of the entries in the Betty Trask award, observed: "Once it was women who softened and civilised their men and children." Now we have abandoned our femininity and started writing books full of dildoes, loveless sex and four-letter words. If my memory serves me properly, only two weeks ago the problem with women's writing, according to opponents of the Orange Prize, was that it was too domestic and insular. This week the problem is that it's full of filth. The trick is to write an Aga Sags full of bestiality and stonking political intrigue. But that is too much for us girls who will write about our filthy habits such as having periods and all that yucky undylike stuff. This subject matter coming from a woman is somehow ill-mannered. Fiction may be about truth and imagination but so-called ladylike behaviour is about lies, a fiction for the benefit of men. Actually what I find incredibly bad-mannered is the continuing exclusion of women from all sorts of public spaces and debates. What pray has the professionalisation of cricket to do with me? I cannot, by virtue of my sex, even enter the hallowed temple of the MCC enclosure at Lords. The kind of manners proposed by the authors of this fossilised tome are about social control. The loosening up of society, the entry of women into formerly male preserves causes them acute anxiety. And so it should. Once men opened doors for ladies while shutting many other doors in their faces. Nowadays women can open the doors for themselves. This is not loutish behaviour. This is progress and a perfect gentleman ought to know the difference.

Putting manners on the moralists

So women must become 'ladies' again. Never, says SUZANNE MOORE

OUTS it seems come in all persuasions. There live among us those who have their noses pierced, their flesh tattooed. There are female novelists who embrace "yobbiishness", there are young men who dress in (avert your eyes) casual clothes. We have been warned this week that the meltdown of society has its root cause in the professionalisation of cricket. Greater equality between the sexes is also to blame. A judge for the Betty Trask award was dismayed to read books written by women that were "astonishingly sleazy, foul-mouthed and violent". Another indication of all this is wrong with the world, according to a report called Gentility Recalled, is to do with the wearing of "denim trousers". Denim trousers? The authors of this peculiar work cannot be accused of wanting to turn the clock back, they simply haven't realised the clock has been ticking at all. They want to reinstate the term "lady", they want us to dress more formally, they want old people to act their age, they want us to be more respectful of doctors. In other words they would like us to know our place in society and stay there. This has little to do with any definition of manners that I could live with. But that's hardly a surprise as I was dragged up in a land far from Debutts. Either that or I have been infiltrated by that horrible virus known as "the sixties". Actually I do think manners are important, but modern manners surely need to be based on a set of social codes that make people feel included not excluded. The kinds of behaviour dignified by this report have no relevance to my life, not - I like to think - because I am incredibly rude, but because I live in the 1990s rather than the 1890s. I am also too busy to do my job properly, as a "lady" it there apparently to help in

the civilising of these horrid beasts - men. I don't see it as my vocation to be a civilising influence on anyone. Graham Lord, critical of the entries in the Betty Trask award, observed: "Once it was women who softened and civilised their men and children." Now we have abandoned our femininity and started writing books full of dildoes, loveless sex and four-letter words. If my memory serves me properly, only two weeks ago the problem with women's writing, according to opponents of the Orange Prize, was that it was too domestic and insular. This week the problem is that it's full of filth. The trick is to write an Aga Sags full of bestiality and stonking political intrigue. But that is too much for us girls who will write about our filthy habits such as having periods and all that yucky undylike stuff. This subject matter coming from a woman is somehow ill-mannered. Fiction may be about truth and imagination but so-called ladylike behaviour is about lies, a fiction for the benefit of men. Actually what I find incredibly bad-mannered is the continuing exclusion of women from all sorts of public spaces and debates. What pray has the professionalisation of cricket to do with me? I cannot, by virtue of my sex, even enter the hallowed temple of the MCC enclosure at Lords. The kind of manners proposed by the authors of this fossilised tome are about social control. The loosening up of society, the entry of women into formerly male preserves causes them acute anxiety. And so it should. Once men opened doors for ladies while shutting many other doors in their faces. Nowadays women can open the doors for themselves. This is not loutish behaviour. This is progress and a perfect gentleman ought to know the difference.

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The not so great Gambo

Radio

Anne Karpf

SO GAMBO is going. And, much as with Gerry Anderson before him, the Middle Englanders are crowding over another victory, while others are now saying that he wasn't quite so awful after all.

On the surface, it looks as if both Gambaccini and Anderson were victims of British vocal racism, which rises up against anything but received pronunciation, and still wastes all broadcasters to sound like Richards Dimbleby or Baker. And victims of those British conservatives who treat Radio 3 as if it were a listed building.

My own hostility to Morning Collection goes far deeper. Gambaccini embodies the Classic FM approach to classical music, which seeks to divest it of its stuffy image and intimidating aura. Hoopay to that, most would say. But it's the methods that beg the questions. It is given a marketing make-over: it becomes a product, branded and packaged like a jar of coffee.

Ours is a culture in which presentation is all, or thought to be. So Gambaccini's bland slickness is meant to emollient the anxious potential listeners of classical music, to persuade them that it can go down a treat. Yet his techniques consistently undermine the music. On Thursday, he was at his most patronising. Having introduced a Brahms Piano Quartet with a short spiel about the composer having played in a brothel, he said: "Now you've pictured young Brahms, and now you're beginning to understand the genesis of today's music."

Worst of all, Gambaccini has fallen prey to the Biographical Fallacy — the notion that you can read off a composer's life from his or her work (Ken Russell-style), and that a decent knowledge of their relationships deepens your understanding of their symphonies. It seems as if we're meant to imagine ourselves as the composer or performer, to insert ourselves into his or her life in some bizarre feat of psychological virtual reality, and that only through this act of identification will we really feel the music. Thus on Wednesday Gambaccini, introducing another Brahms Piano Quartet, suggested that "If you've ever had a friend who was supremely talented but extremely insecure, you've been in the position of Hungarian violinist-composer Josef Joachim." The irony is that Brahms Piano Quartets are among the most accessible parts of the repertoire and don't need this kind of mediation. Schoenberg, perhaps; Brahms, no.

But can Radio 3 modernise itself without recourse to such crude methods, or without the constant time-checks, station IDs and what the traditionalists decry as "chat"? One programme Nicholas Kenyon introduced to the schedules two years ago sounds quite different from the old-style Radio 3 and yet has received nothing but praise. The Music Machine, the most accessible strand for young people, has covered everything from digital music to Courtney Pine, and is contemporary without straining to be so. It also almost always illuminates.

As for Gambaccini himself, it seems reasonable enough (if a little too kind) on Radio 3's Kaleidoscope, where he's dealing with a popular medium (film, of which he has abundant knowledge) and one he doesn't need to strive to popularise. On Wednesday he conducted a zipping interview with a hilarious Miss Piggy, unfazed by her stream of witticisms. In the years to come, I suspect that Radio 2 will prove his natural home.



Why have the people of Brighton turned their houses into public galleries, and is the work displayed inside any good? FIACHRA GIBBONS reports

Home is where the art is

ART SCHOOLS never tire of telling their young daubers to throw their studios open to the public, to court criticism, to provoke reaction. No one ever thinks of the poor punters. No one ever imagines that one day an ordinary person might be pushed so far as to say what they really think. But this is what happened in Brighton last Saturday — and in the artist's own front room as well. The critic was one of their elderly neighbours, an irksome survivor of the area's gentrification. "No disrespect, love, but how do you expect someone to get wall-paper to go with that? You don't do dog pictures, do you? ... Take my advice, love, if you want to make a go of this lark, do some nice dogs, or rabbits for them that like wilder stuff." Everything went silent except for Enya chanting something meaningless — and not even Gaelic — in the background.

The old dear was right. She just didn't know the jargon, how to say "Wow! It's so different!" with a straight face. But she knew something didn't work.

Outside, cherry blossom billowed in the breeze, a Jack Russell sniffed at an unfeasibly large Labrador and a queue of the curious built up on the garden path. Every May an odd ritual is enacted in the better parts of Brighton. It is called the Open Houses, where everyone from Sunday watercolourists to darlings of the avant garde turn their sitting rooms into galleries for the four weekends of the Brighton Festival.

There is nothing quite like it anywhere else — nearly 80 homes and 40 studios flung open, with everything from busts to painted toilet seats for sale. A thousand people or more can trudge through a house in a day. Some even go to look at the art, though for most it's an excuse for a snoop around some select addresses.

"Artists always have such interesting houses," a woman in Rugby Road told me, trying to peer behind the rope across the stairs to a nice stately home touch that. "This place is better than any gift shop." Still, she was disappointed. It wasn't quite Charleston. You couldn't see the Bloomsbury brigade creating in front of a coal-effect gas fire.

What's interesting there are more interesting than the art. Brighton bohemians have a swagger, an easy outrageousness because there are so many of them. They all look like they've just run away from the circus, or the circus



Top: Johnny O'Keefe prepares for the onslaught when he throws open his house. Left: the work of Fred Herring, a cutting-edge cooperative that has attracted some of the best young British artists to Brighton. Above, Deja Vu, by Annelise Clarke who is one of the most popular of the Brighton festival. Below, Karjini Sky, W.A. by Chris McHugh



A thousand people can trudge through a house in a day. Some even go to look at the art, though most go to snoop

has run away from them. In Hanover I saw a woman grovel and grab a bronze by its buttocks. She wore a necklace that looked as if it was made from the molars of her former lovers. Down the road, two guys got holistic.

"I can tell by your aura that you're an artist too."

"How did you guess? Yes, I am thinking about becoming one — this is so inspirational. At the moment I'm a dancer. I don't know what to do. I've been told I have a great sympathy for crystals therapy as well." All very Brighton.

What's amazing is not how much bad stuff there is, but how much good. Then again, nearly two per cent of the town's population describe themselves as visual artists.

Guardians snog on the back seat. "I don't know how people put up with it. You're a prisoner in your own home for a month while everyone noses around your nicknacks. It's the thickness. The visual arts get so little help. The council and the festival are next to useless."

So had in fact that they didn't get the Open Houses guide on to the streets until two weeks into the festival. They also managed to lose an exhibition of John Lennon sketches by giving it only a derisory mention in the fringe brochure.

Great as they are, the Open Houses flatter to deceive. The real richness of the Brighton scene is to be found among its cutting-edge cooperatives led by Red Herring, Tin Star, Phoenix and House, who have been them attracted some of the best young artists in the country to Brighton. Red Herring, housed in an old Wine Gum factory in Hove, pioneered the way in the early nineties, producing such talents as John Mills (the sculptor who's work graced the last two Batman movies), Bruce Williams (of the huge Tony Hancock sculptures), Shirley Chubb, Matthew Miller and Jane Fordham. It is also from this pool that a Brighton School is likely to emerge. But that's another story. Until the new artist-run Fabrica gallery opened in an old church last month, they had no place locally to show work that had already been seen all over the world.

After two days of tramping from house to house I finally found heaven in Hanover. It was one of these narrow streets from which Stamp!, Pete McCarthy, and the English elements of Archaos, sprang. You need a sherpa to get up Southover Street to the Up The Hill Gallery just across from the Islington chippy, but it's worth it. The rest of the year it's Terry Howe's two-bedroomed terrace. Terry has sprayed every inch of his back room with dandelion tea. You put on surgical shoes and step into the dark. Slowly you become aware of clocks, dolls, a pram and odd fungal growths on the wall. Every time you move, the tea releases more of its aroma. It is strangely calming. You don't want to leave this tomb of memory.

And then it hit me. That's the good thing about death — you're having to go to another private view.

The Open Houses exhibition runs on Saturday and Sunday from 12 to 6pm. The show at the Fabrica, Duke Street, continues until June 16.

Is it soap or surrealism?

Television

Nancy Banks-Smith

WHAT makes Coronation Street (Granada) so savoury is the writing. It is better than necessary. It is, ooh-ah, just a little bit more.

Fred, Don and Jack are leaning on the bar of the Rovers. Fred is a butcher, who looks like a pig reflected in a spoon. Don is a one-legged taxi driver. If Jack had a cow, he would swap it for a handful of beans. Recently, while under the influence, they bought a racehorse. Horses, you may have noticed, don't buy people. Horses have got more sense.

Alec said to Rita "Look at them three over there! To think that Walt Disney died before drawing any of them."

The image catches your fancy immediately like flypaper.

This week Fred was being moaned the fashionless of modern youth in general and his errand boy, Ashley, in particular. (Ashley is the one who would have joined the army, but he hasn't got the qualifications.) "Gastroenteritis!" said Fred. "They don't know what gastroenteritis is these days. They only have to sneeze and they're looking in their armpits for boils."

This, in case you weren't around at the time, is a reference to the black death, which announced itself with a sneeze. "Arisbooh! Arisbooh! All fall down!" The assumption is that you will catch all this on the wing is characteristic of the writing.

Roy Newton of Nottingham, who treasures such quotes in an old biscuit box, has reminded me of this unregarded richness. His personal favourite was Eilida Gray, when someone at the Rovers was caught stealing. "Oooh, they ought to burn his clothes!"

If it weren't a soap, it would be surrealism.

Eddie Braben's scripts for Morecambe and Wise had the same unexpected spin. As Glenda Jackson once said, before she grew so serious. "My head is beating like a whippet in a bowler hat!" Something splinters your wicket. Either the whippet did it or the bowler hat.

The writers of Coronation Street, who have been working from background biographies. A new personality emerges, partly from the writer observing the actor. This is obviously the case with Fred (John Savident), who has expanded like a black pudding to fill the space available.

There is more space available now Steve and Vicky are on their way. At the Rovers, the doors swing in and the doors swing out and some pass in and others pass out. Vicky, the right little madam, has a sad, dark night of the soul — well, two dark nights, Monday and Wednesday — wondering whether to testify against Steve. She did and he got two years.

It could be worse. The less fortunate are run over by a Blackpool tram or, worse, sent to live in Lowestoft.

Frankly, my dear, who cares? The question really agitating the nation is will Fred get his feet under the oak at Rita's. Or, as a lesser script-writer would put it, the table.

Murder Most Horrid (BBC2), no great favourite of mine, turned up trumps with the story of Daisy (Dawn French), a soft-hearted abattoir worker, who is mistaken for an executioner in South America. For reasons too curly to disentangle, she executes the entire government by mistake. Live on TV. This, as you may have noticed, is a roaring ratings success. As Daisy says "There hasn't been anything worth watching on telly recently."

Gardeners' World (BBC2) completed its tour to Holland. I went myself last week to see the tulip fields. It was like the battle of Waterloo. The tulips stand to attention in regimented rows until — don't look — they are all beheaded and their heads heaped in scarlet and gold pyramids at the edge of the field.

As I once heard Mariene Dietrich sing to Montgomery in *Wentworth* "Where are all the flowers gone?"

Reviews

POP

Manic Street Preachers Glasgow Barrowlands

INDEED, it looked a little bare up there. The presence of the Manic Street Preachers on a touring stage again is inevitably marked by the absence of their calm, serene, wheel-guitarist and eyeliner muse, Richey James — missing and (increasingly) presumed no more. There were no obvious dedications, other than a butters-bread-light beaming down on a vacant spot. The grim passion of this performance seemed dedication enough.

While the Manics' have been grappling with their own personal history of disappearance and death, pop history has moved on. Yet as Brit-pop's eruptions cool down into a new landscape — all those jagged mouldings of lad and camp, punk, boho and prole — the Manic Street Preachers can be seen to have anticipated most developments.

This gig, in terms of their own transgressive history, was a buttoned-down, garage-floor affair — no men in dresses, no slanking or raving or taunting, a standard strobe-lit rock spectacle. Yet the strength and depth of the Manics' material pushed you back against

the wall, breathless. Huge and yearning tunes, thrown high and wide for posterity; a lyrical and literary wit unites Willem De Koning and McJob alimation, high-culture babbles and neo-prole anger; and a fundamentalist skill in making guitar-bass-drums actually work which most of their peers could readily learn from.

And as the material from the new album *Everything Must Go* showed, the generation terrorists have become their generation's classicists. James Dean Heartfield's voice — although still feeling its way through the higher registers — projected new songs like Elvis impersonator and every other *Must Go* as if were Philip Spector's chosen son, back to redeem indie-pop from its melodic poverty. Breathless thrashes through brutal stuff like Motown Junk seemed more like band therapy than crowd entertainment; but the anthemic hit *Design For Life* — the Manics' *Scarface* response to Blur's *Boys and Girls* — sounded like a whole new direction. It's difficult not to hear the Manic Street Preachers' current heroic richness through the filter of their recent trials. But for whatever reason this gig was a triumph.

Pat Kane

OPERA

Così fan tutte Glyndebourne

TREVOR NUNN's virtuoso production of *Così fan tutte*, elegantly set on a Neapolitan cruise ship circa 1900, was the star turn of Glyndebourne's Mozart bicentenary season in 1991. With Simon Rattle in the pit and a first-class team of principals headed by Amanda Roocroft, the wit and energy of that year were always going to be difficult to match in revivals.

And so it proves now, as the production makes its first appearance in the new Glyndebourne theatre in a revival by Michael McCarthy. The nautical staging is still a very clever conceit, allowing some excellent jokes, but the complex Tisot-inspired network of silent shipboard extras, has lost some of its snap. Nevertheless, Maria Bjornson's cutaway designs continue to work a treat and newcomers will find much delight in this highly ingenious production.

The verdict on the musical side must also be conditional. Franz Welser-Möst conducts a rather stop-and-start account, exemplified by his handling

For sale: the Brontë birthplace. JAKE LYNCH reports

Wuthering slights

IN A few dozen square miles of West Yorkshire, the name of Brontë is attached to everything from cuddly toys to curries — Haworth, the town where the family settled, even boasts a Brontë Bistrot. And yet the sisters' birthplace of Thornton, a small rural village near Bradford, seems to be keeping its credentials to itself. In among the boarded-up shops is the one place with a perfect right to proclaim its literary associations. But nowadays the house where Charlotte, Emily and Anne were born is an ordinary private residence. And it is up for sale.

To gauge the unfulfilled potential, reach for a technique from the novels themselves — the instructive comparison. A

couple of hundred miles away in genteel Hampshire, the home of another writer-heroine, Jane Austen, is twice as busy with visitors since a flurry of sumptuous screen adaptations. It all fits with the current fad for marketing Britain as one gigantic film set.

Conveniently, Zeffirelli's movie version of Jane Eyre has recently opened in the US, with William Hurt as Rochester and Charlotte Gainsbourg as Jane. It's expected here in the autumn. Could it set our jethurs straining for Bronstein, just as Emma Thompson and the BBC have awakened us to Dashwoods and Darceys?

Already, the Brontë Parsonage Museum at Haworth is second only to Stratford in the

league table of literary honeypots. After all, these were three virgins, clergyman's daughters in early Victorian England, who wrote about the passions driving men and women with an intensity that shocked polite opinion. It prompts us to scour their background for evidence to support the idea that great literature must spring from intense personal experience.

What sensitive reader, visiting the Thornton house, could look at the original fireplaces without seeing the elemental imagination of two-year-old Emily being formed as she sat and watched the dancing flames within? Did the enormous malodorous wardrobe in the nursery suggest the up-



The cottages at Thornton. Yours for £100,000

stairs rooms of Jane Eyre to four-year-old Charlotte? The feeling in Thornton that "summat should be done" to beautify and beautify the site is longstanding. A hundred years ago, one local worthy, William Scruton, wrote that without such a conversion any attempt to honour their genius would fall short of the Brontë sisters' just desserts.

Enter the National Heritage

Memorial Fund, set up to disburse takings from the National Lottery. Talking Scruton's lead, activists from the Brontë Birthplace Trust are applying for money to buy the house — now converted back into two cottages — and turn it into a visitor centre.

But Trust project co-ordinator Pat Calver is keenly aware that time may be running out. "The Church altered the original buildings in 1802 to make it into a parsonage, but later sold it to a local firm of butchers. Since then it's been used as a gift shop, then most recently a restaurant. But since that failed it's just been turned into two cottages. If one of them was bought separately it would break up the site, and that would be a tragedy," she sighs.

As Memorial Fund plenipotentiaries decide whether the project is worthy of our national largesse, one significant snag remains. Muriel Jordan lays down her upholstery work and reminisces on her eventful few years as custo-

dian of the Brontë Birthplace. She is putting finishing touches to the two extremely attractive stone cottages, on the market for a combined total of just over £100,000. She and husband Malcolm, a professional joiner, sunk all their savings and more into the abortive attempt to establish the Thornton house as a restaurant. Although she wishes the trust well, she is in no position to drop the asking price to keep her child remaining asset open to the public.

Unfortunately, the conservationists are bound by complicated lottery rules, which stipulate that the Brontë Birthplace must be independently valued — as if it were Tom, Dick and Harry who were born there, not Charlotte, Anne and Emily. Their offer is dismissed by Mrs Jordan as "peanuts".

So the snags remain. Without a dramatic intervention, this Brontë story may be heading for an uncharacteristic anti-climax.

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سازمان اطلاعات

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lism?

Doomed to live with the Marx brothers

SINCE the annus mirabilis of 1989, George Konrad, Hungary's sharpest living writer, has watched Central Europe's fortunes rise and fall like the level of the Danube. "We all seem to be expecting something, an explanation of where we belong," he remarked emblematically in one of several essays which are now available in soft covers.

It was a statement of fact with a hint of accusation, though it was not clear whether Konrad's main charge of indecisiveness was levelled at his fellow Central Europeans, "small nations with restless collective egos and makeshift provisional identities", or at the outside world.

In the three years since those comments, the region has received an answer which makes the locus of blame plain enough. Central Europe is to remain a periphery. It is doomed to hang about in a permanent ante-room while envoys from Nato and the European Union fit through the area but no one ever names the date for joining either club. In Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw a palpable mood of resentment is growing as the political elite wonders how much more it needs to do to prove its eligibility.

In the first flush of post-communist independence Konrad might have mimicked Czechoslovakia's dissident playwright, Vaclav Havel, and become his country's president. His time under arrest, his renown as a democrat, and the reputation of seminal books like his early 1980s text *Anti-Politics*, were of a similar order. Many Hungarians hoped he would go for it. But with a young wife and small children, and a strong reluctance to compromise his personal freedom, he declined.

Despite his abnegation, he enjoys a few unofficial quasi-presidential perks. As he strolled to a restaurant in his villa in one of the leafier parts of Buda, we approached a busy main road. Although there was no zebra crossing in sight, a car came to a respectful halt and the driver waved Konrad on. He beamed at seeing how impressed I was. "It happens quite often," he confessed.

Unlike Havel, Konrad is a joker and something of a maverick. He is proud of the way Parliament reacted when he came out against arresting people for possessing cannabis. From the Christian Democrats to the former communists, every party denounced his view that it was a private matter which did no harm to others. "It is a matter of unity. There's never been such unanimity," he chortles.

Central Europe's identity has always been a measure of the region's relationship with the outside world rather than a reflection of an intrinsic sameness. During the cold war the West tended to see it as a place of drab uniformity under the jackboot of Stalinism. In fact, each country managed to preserve a remarkable amount of individuality. Each reacted to communism in its own way. Each tried to throw it off differently and now, when communism has gone, each one is experiencing a different transition.

Take Central Europe's three abortive anti-communist stands, separated by a round dozen years. They took widely different forms; armed

uprising in Hungary in October 1956, reform-by-stealth led by intellectuals and party insiders in Czechoslovakia in 1988, a slow-burning workers' revolt in Poland in 1980.

None was more viciously suppressed than in Hungary. A week of street fighting in Budapest in 1956 left more than 25,000 dead, most killed in hand-to-hand combat with Russian tanks or executed afterwards. Until the horrors of Bosnia, it was Europe's biggest war since 1945.

The post-war repression was coldly vicious. Konrad remembers walking through one working-class street in Budapest three years after the uprising. Alarmed by sobbing, he found a group of women who had just been told to come to the central prison to collect their children's clothes. As teenagers in 1956 they had been among the crowds of kids who threw petrol bombs at Soviet tanks. But — this was the real ghastliness — the police did not detain them at the time. Minors cannot be executed so the authorities waited until they reached the right age. In the spring of 1959, the police came back and went searching from house to house. Seventy young people were arrested, of whom 19 were hanged.

For decades the burial place of the thousands secretly dumped in unmarked pits was known only to a few officials. Lot 301, the name it still bears, was nothing but a maze of bushes and shrubs at the farthest end of Budapest's Kozma Street cemetery, a good half-mile beyond the neat family tombs and clipped grass borders in the "working" part of the cemetery. Hare and pheasants roamed at peace, disturbed only by an occasional grave-digger come to dispose of a convict executed at the nearby prison.

The great change of 1989 threatened to disturb Lot 301 for ever. The declining communist regime hoped to win favour by permitting the ceremonial re-burial of Imre Nagy, the leader of the uprising. The thicket was cleared, a rough white Rubik-cube of a monument erected, and hundreds of headstones laid out in rows. Beside each of the headstones a wooden post like a totem-pole, a throw-back to Hungary's pagan past. Yet, even though Lot 301 has become a national memorial-site, its quiet dignity remains unspoiled for most of the day. There are no signs at the front of the cemetery to encourage visitors to make the half-hour trek to the martyrs' graves.

Even the approach of the sixth anniversary has re-kindled little interest. The government of re-named former communists is headed by Gyula Horn, who as a member of the militia was on the wrong side in 1956. He has no wish to look back. Konrad, then a fledgling journalist, swapped typewriter for machine-gun to guard the university against the Russians. Now he says "I doubt whether I will even go to the cemetery".

Because the repression was so harsh, the regime later over-compensated. Janos Kadar, the leader the Russians installed, introduced a soft economy with high relative consumption and generous welfare benefits — very different from the way the Czech authorities behaved after 1989. Though almost no one died in the Soviet invasion, the subsequent purge of the Communist party, the univer-

sities, and every other state institution was so severe that a generation of intellectuals and the best-educated remained alienated for two decades. It is no accident that the Czech electorate is backing the Central European trend and not letting the communists back to power, and that the Communist party remains small and unreformed. In Poland the bitterness of martial law is also taking years to fade. Voters have brought back the former communists for largely economic reasons but their old political opponents from the Solidarity trade union movement still refuse any alliance with them.

Hungary is the exception. In the early 1980s, Konrad was already predicting it would go the way of countries in southern Europe like Spain, Portugal and Greece, where "a middle-class intelligentsia on the road to bourgeois democracy swallowed up the political bureaucracy of dictatorship". "The old recipe," he wrote, "called for the overthrow of the machinery of power by means of a mass movement. The new recipe calls for a transformation of the political structure by means of a slowly ripening social transformation."

And so it was. The regime gradually changed. Communists turned into economic neo-liberals and political pluralists and Konrad's friends in the Association of Free Democrats joined them in government as junior partners. The 1989 events have been left to the hardline rightwing opposition, the Smallholders' Party. If they hold a commemoration at Lot 301, it will be another reason why Konrad does not expect to go.

In the early months after the Soviet collapse it was Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel who led the way towards re-defining Central Europe's future. He suggested

neutrality as a step towards a confederation of East and West which would make the old military blocs redundant. The idea found favour with Francois Mitterrand but not with other western leaders. Now it has been ruled out. When the government-funded Czech Institute of International Relations listed the neutrality option among a range of theoretical choices (and rejected it) last year, the Foreign Ministry refused to accept the paper for fear the government would be accused of taking it seriously.

THE NEXT idea was regional integration. At Visegrad castle above the Danube, the presidents of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary signed a treaty of co-operation in October 1991. Its spirit was soon subverted as the three governments floundered. When Slovakia split off began to compete with each other to get the best possible deal from Western Europe. The fiercely free-market Czech prime minister, Vaclav Klaus, also feared that "Central Europe" could become a metaphor for a "third way" between capitalism and socialism.

Klaus turned his blunt pro-Westernism into an art form. On the one hand he played hard to get with Brussels by delaying a formal application to join the European Union until this year. On the other, he tried to show how much reader his economy was by refusing to accept his Central European allies' currencies. Attila Agh, a leading political scientist in Budapest, recalls how one could buy a return train ticket for Vienna or Frankfurt with Hungarian forints long before one could for Prague. The Czechs demanded the return section be paid for in Czech crowns or western currency.

As hopes faded for early entry into the European Union, "joining Europe" shifted to military security. The countries thought they would get into Nato quickly, since this required less adjustment. Central Europe became prey to what Leszlo Valki, the director of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Society, writing in the latest issue of the *Hungarian Quarterly* calls "a rather odd psychosis". "From Warsaw to Budapest every political action is judged by whether it furthers or hinders accession to Nato," he writes.

The reasons pre-date these countries' experience of Soviet domination. Stuck in *Zurich* Europe, "In-between Europe", the region's small nations struggled for two centuries to achieve statehood as wars by Turks, Austrians, Russians, and Prussians raged over or around them. The political elites want to end that unpredictability by joining the "security community" which Western Europe has enjoyed for a half-century and which makes a new war between its members unthinkable.

But Professor Valki argues that Nato's insistence on retaining the option to deploy nuclear weapons in the region creates a counter sense of insecurity. Six of Nato's 14 European members have no nuclear weapons, so why shouldn't the potential new entrants from Central Europe be guaranteed the same let-out? Valki's point is well-taken since surveys show that even in Poland, where eagerness to join the alliance is highest, it evaporates over the nuclear issue: 61 per cent of Poles would not join Nato if it meant having nuclear weapons on their territory.

In Poland, Wojciech Lamentowicz, recently appointed as President Alexander Kwasniewski's main foreign policy adviser, describes the four countries of Central Europe as "an imagined community of common hopes". The memory of oppression from Russians and Nazi Germany which produced a sense of danger on both flanks obscures a deeper cultural pull which comes from one direction only, namely the West.

"Central Europe's geopolitical identity," Lamentowicz argues, "was and is based on a

cultural duality, on the hope of being accepted into the West and the fear of being dominated by the East." The road West was available in more than one form. "Decisive westernisation" meant eventually being invited to join Nato. He calls the American position of excluding the Russians "unwise" because it could provoke the Russians into trying to restore the Soviet Union under new conditions.

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George Konrad is the great joker of Hungarian politics, but it's becoming harder to get a laugh out of Central Europe, dangling between East and West. JONATHAN STEELE asked how he saw the tragi-comedy developing



Illustration: ZYGMUNT JANUSZEWSKI

free trade area (CEFTA), which plans to remove all internal tariffs by 2000. Part of Central Europe's anger at the long wait comes from realising that the EU's leading member-states prefer the present limbo. In 1989 Poland and Hungary had a rough balance of trade with the EU. Now they import far more than they sell. Western corporations, led by the Germans, operate freely within the region. To them it makes no difference whether the region joins the EU. Meanwhile, the EU need not adjust its common agricultural policy or enlarge the structural funds which go to poorer members.

IN GERMANY and Japan, the transition to democratic capitalism after 1945 was eased in over a period of years while their economies were kept closed and their currencies non-convertible, and with the aid of massive transfers of capital. Yet these were war-ravaged economies where the imperative of speed was strong. In Central Europe, the need for economic re-structuring in 1989 was not as paramount as building the political institutions of an open society. But, encouraged by their western backers, the new governments chose to dismantle the communist-era welfare states.

Some officials condemned them as "paternalistic", on the grounds that they kept citizens passive, dependent, and unenterprising. Others like the Hungarian economist, Janos Kornai, called them "premature" welfare states. The countries' economies were too under-developed to be able to afford cradle-to-grave provision. A radical shift from consumption to investment was the only way to modernise and compete in the global market-place.

The rapid transition has produced a widening of income differentials and left many, perhaps most, Central Europeans economically less secure. Floundering cities co-exist with new rural poverty. Konrad says Central Europe's real border does not abut Austria. It runs through Hungary itself, separating a booming western half from a stricken East. In Poland the pattern is similar. Warsaw and five other large cities have lost prosperity in an eroding desert of decline.

The fact that Central Europe has completed the switch to an open society and maintained political stability while making this tough economic transition is a remarkable story of success. It reinforces the case that the area deserves better of the West. Entry into Nato is a sop with little practical benefit which may increase instability further East. Entry into the European Union ought to be speeded up.

George Konrad's *The Melancholy of Rebirth, Essays from Post-Communist Central Europe*, is published by Harcourt Brace and Company, New York

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JONATHAN STEELE was the *Guardian's* East European correspondent during the 1970s. He covered the fall of communism as Moscow bureau chief from 1985 to 1994. Author of several books on Russia and Eastern Europe, he now works in London for the *Guardian* and the *Observer* as a reporter and commentator

James Rouse

Builder of a flawed Utopia

JAMES ROUSE, who has died aged 81, was the greatest visionary developer working in American cities in recent times. His influence extended around the globe, from Buenos Aires to Sydney, Osaka, Liverpool and Barcelona.

Born on Maryland's Eastern Shore, he began as a small-scale mortgage banker in the 1930s, but came into his own as the pioneer of large-scale regional shopping malls, the sort now common in Britain — in the 1950s and 1960s. From that he went on to build the new town of Columbia in Maryland, and push for inner city revitalisation via large-scale, often waterfront, redevelopment projects.

Rouse was the kind of developer who "made no little plans" (as Daniel Burnham put it). He often quoted Goethe's *Faust* to the effect that "boldness had genius, power and magic in it; that 'whatever you can do, or dream you can, begin it.' But not a little of the Faustian drama touched his work as he sought to reconcile his pact with capitalism and the market with communitarian and social ideals.

Rouse could realise his plans because he was, above all, a pragmatist. He had little time for academic research, theory, or even extended empirical work. But he understood very well the fundamentals of real-estate development — location, location and location. And he had a flair for seeing possibilities and realising them when others threw up their hands in despair.

He came to believe that the problems of ailing American cities could be cured through a strong and committed public/private partnership dedicated to revitalising a spirit of community. Entrepreneurial vision and drive coupled with a sense of community would solve all problems.

For him, such a partnership meant more than the public taking the risk and the private taking the profit. Public purpose meant improving the lives of ordinary and disadvantaged people. He therefore gave freely of his accumulated wisdom and of his prodigious energy to aid all manner of public projects (from presidents to local mayors).

He was a consummate businessman, adept at giving people what they wanted and persuading people to want what he had to give. Early on he saw the power of Disneyland as a marketing strategy for urban development and recognised the latent demand of affluent, middle-class Americans to engage in multi-purpose shopping in a secure, controlled and, above all, pleasant interior environment. Shopping, he felt, should be an uplifting, comforting experience in which people are made to feel important. His was a populist style of development and he produced an architecture to match.

But there were evident limits to his approach to urban ills. Rouse helped to build the "I shop therefore I am" culture of mindless consumerism that came to characterise middle class life in America. In so doing he helped unwittingly to foster a political indifference to the well-being of others that was proximately at odds with his own communitarian ideals. The suburbanisation of shopping malls likewise accelerated the inner city decay that became his later preoccupation.

By far his grandest project was the new town of Columbia. In an extraordinary operation that involved the packaging of immense financial powers, sophisticated and

very secretive land assembly, a lot of brains-instraining as to design, Rouse set out to show that private capital, operating with only minimum public financial support, could successfully create a totally new city. Nearly 30 years later Columbia has more than 80,000 residents, an apparent success story for both the Rouse Corporation that built it and the people who live there.

But there is a gap between the initial vision and the reality. Rouse hoped, in the tradition of Ebenezer Howard, to create a new town community unto itself with strong local employment and a population mix of classes, races and incomes. But in the end it was location that made Columbia work — equidistant from Baltimore and Washington, it became a commuter haven for the relatively affluent fleeing inner city ills and thus accelerated a profitable process of deconcentration of downtowns in both cities. Racial integration of the middle class was the only residual sign of the initial vision.

Perturbed by the collapse of inner cities into wastelands of despair and decaying buildings, Rouse turned his talents in the 1970s to their revitalisation. Festival market places



Rouse helped shape the 'I shop therefore I am' culture of mindless consumerism that came to characterise middle class life in America

like Faneuil Hall in Boston — a formula endlessly and repetitively copied by Rouse and others elsewhere — were built as anchors for downtown revitalisation.

His hallmark project was the inner harbour renewal in Baltimore. Mixing tourism, consumption, leisure and office development, in a space that made maximum use of the waterfront, Rouse helped achieve a populist effect and delivered a profitable result that many sought to emulate — as in Liverpool's Albert Dock — far less successfully elsewhere. But even in Baltimore the effect was largely that of "bread and circuses," of consumerism and spectacle, rather than of substance. A "I shop therefore I am" culture of mindless consumerism that came to characterise middle class life in America. In so doing he helped unwittingly to foster a political indifference to the well-being of others that was proximately at odds with his own communitarian ideals. The suburbanisation of shopping malls likewise accelerated the inner city decay that became his later preoccupation.

By far his grandest project was the new town of Columbia. In an extraordinary operation that involved the packaging of immense financial powers, sophisticated and

cities, Rouse again chose Baltimore as one of his most intensive experimental zones, taking on, as part of a public, private and non-profit partnership, one of the city's most run-down areas that had been untouched by the inner harbor renewal. While the physical ambience of the area improved, its social and employment conditions proved far harder to change.

In 1986, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honour. President Clinton praised his life as "exemplary of the American spirit." It is a fair judgment. Rouse's life is an extraordinary record of both the moving powers and the limits of that spirit to deal with urban ills that worsened, rather than improved in his lifetime. Urban ills in America evidently cannot fundamentally be cured, by even an honest partnership between public and private sectors. They can, as Frederick Engels remarked, at best be moved around. Rouse, in the end, was one of those prime movers.

Rouse was a truly Faustian figure — the grand developer not afraid to engage with the "creative destruction" inherent in his calling and one who realised sufficiently large scale plans as to reveal in all its problematic glory much of the tragedy of contemporary capitalist urban development.

David Harvey
Bart Harvey, chairman and chief executive of the Enterprise Foundation, writes: James Rouse charmed from an early age. He talked his way on to a ship as an escort for elderly ladies to get a free education in Hawaii. He paid for law school by convincing a car parking operator of his supreme qualifications — except that he couldn't drive. "If life gives you lemons," he said, "make lemonade."

Jim always believed that business was a way to serve human need. If the business organisation offered the opportunity for its people to reach their fulfillment, profits would result. Throughout the building of Columbia and the growth of the Rouse Company, Jim was actively involved in civic and voluntary activities, serving or chairing housing task forces for four presidents, deeply involved in the world federalist movement and an active supporter of civil rights work. Sleep was not an option. Catnaps came whenever he could no longer over-rule nature. Once while he was driving, he asked me to wake him up when the light turned green.

Retirement from the Rouse Company in 1981 was a new beginning. His vision was to help poor people help themselves through the opportunity for decent, affordable housing and a path out of poverty. With that vision and hope, he founded the Enterprise Foundation which today works with 650 community-based projects in 153 cities and has provided commitments of grants, loans and equity investments exceeding \$1.7 billion. The Foundation has helped produce more than 61,000 units of housing for very low-income people, one third of whom were either homeless or with special needs.

Jim fought so hard, despite being in considerable pain towards the end, believing that his work wasn't yet finished. He leaves a wife, Patty, three children, three step-children and 16 grandchildren. He is also survived by his ex-wife Elizabeth.

James Wilson Rouse, developer, born April 26, 1914; died April 9, 1998



Dorothy Hyson in 1933... "the world's new sweetheart" said Cary Grant

Dorothy Hyson

The most beautiful girl in the world

DOROTHY Hyson, who has died aged 81, was a much admired beauty on stage and screen in the 1930s and 1940s, and one of the best loved figures of the theatre world. She was born in Chicago, the daughter of celebrated American ballroom dancers Carl Hyson and Dorothy Dickson. When she was three, her mother became a Broadway star in Jerome Kern's *Oh, Boy!*, dancing with her husband. They then came to London, where Dickson established herself as one of the great musical-comedy stars of the age in Kern's *Sally and Gershwin's Tip-Toes*. When her parents separated in 1923 "Little Dot" as she was affectionately known remained in this country with her mother.

Hyson's childhood in England was as she later told her husband, Anthony Quayle, "very inadequate and unhappy". It was mostly spent at boarding schools in the home counties, far from the backstage world she had known in New York. However, she already had the theatre in her blood when she appeared in J.M. Barrie's *Quality Street* at the Savoy at the age of 12, playing one of the children. Her performance in *Daisy Ashford's The Young Visitors* the following year attracted the attention of critic James Agate who predicted that she would be "the comedienne of the future".

Finishing school in Paris, and holidays in the South of France with her glamorous mother — they were often assumed to be sisters — quickly got Hyson offers for

films. She appeared in such early British talkies as *Soldiers of the King* (1933), *The Ghoul* (1933), with Boris Karloff and Ralph Richardson, and *Sing as We Go* (1934) with Gracie Fields. She impressed Cary Grant so much that he called her "the world's new sweetheart" and "the most beautiful girl in the world." Indeed, Rodgers and Hart's hit song called exactly that was said to have been inspired by her blue eyes, blonde hair, and fragrant singing and dancing style. (*The most beautiful star in the world! Isn't Garbo, isn't Dietrich! But the sweet trick! Who can make me believe it's a beautiful world!*)

On stage Hyson appeared in Ivor Novello's *Fires in the Sun*, Maxwell Anderson's *Saturday's Children*, Dodie Smith's *Touch Wood* and

Keith Winter's *Ringmaster*. That spring, Hyson married the actor Robert Douglas. Later the same year they appeared together on Broadway in *Most of the Game*. In the 1938 Old Vic production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, she proved a spirited Titania.

During the war, Hyson appeared in a revue, *Let's Face It*, with Michael Wilding and Mary Malcolm followed by several comedy roles before she achieved her greatest success as Smully Strachan in Roland Pertwee's *Pink String and Sealing Wax*.

During the first post-war season, Hyson played Lady Windemere in John Gielgud's production of Wilde's *Lady Windemere's Fan*. Cecil Beaton designed the sets and costumes and when Hyson refused to wear the dress he had designed for Act 1, "I was upset out of all proportion" he wrote.

In 1945 Hyson was divorced from Douglas, and two years later married Anthony Quayle. They had first met in 1936 when Hyson was playing Jane Bennet in a version of *Pride and Prejudice* at the St James's Theatre. Quayle, who played Mr Wickham,

later remembered that he thought Hyson in her Rex Whistler gown "the most beautiful creature I had ever seen".

Hyson retired from the stage to devote herself to family life; the Quayles had three children, Rosanna, Jennifer (Jenny, now a successful actress, the third generation), and Christopher. When Quayle was appointed director of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford, his wife was active behind the scenes. "Without her I could have been nothing, done nothing", he wrote in his autobiography *A Time To Speak*.

In September 1986, Dorothy Dickson died, aged 102, one of the legendary figures from the now so distant dancing 1920s. Sir Anthony Quayle died in 1989. He described his wife's beauty and allure as being "like coming into brilliant sunshine after the darkness of a dungeon... It was not only her beauty that possessed me, it was a radiant lightness of heart."

Patrick O'Connor
Dorothy Hyson (Lady Quayle), actress, born December 24, 1914; died May 23, 1998

Weekend Birthdays

ONLY 38 today and Alastair Campbell (right) races along the corridors of power with a still-boyish step in the thigh-gish service of the relatively elderly Tony Blair. 43. But he has packed a lot into that young life.

Comprehensive-and-Cambridge-educated, the middle-class son of a vet, Campbell is still passionately devoted to Burnley FC and to the Labour Party. Less predictably, he emerged from Rupert Allason's recent (failed) libel action as the pen behind a former Miss Gielgole, a contributor to *Forum* magazine.

This time next year he will be Blair's Downing Street press secretary. If the voters embrace the modernisers. Progressives of all stripes must wish him well in a vital task: squaring or squashing the media. *The Fleet Street shark* and *crouton* stream day one to provoke the Campbell temper, or harsh, even witty words he may regret. Like many beleaguered Labour press flaks in the past, prickly Joe Haines for instance, he regards anyone not 110 percent pro-Blair as a potential enemy. Alty must learn to settle for less. And actually he is better at charming than at bullying. Gielgole usually are.

Today's other birthdays: Lord Aiddon, barrister, former chairman, Sun Alliance, 52; Lilliana Archibald, expert on banking law, 68; Kim Bailey, racehorse trainer, 43; Alastair Burt MP, under-secretary of state for Social Security, 41; Julian Clary, comedian and actor, 37; Barry Cox, director, ITV Association, 54; Jeanne Crain, actress, 71; Prof Mariann Elliott, historian, 48; Margaret Forster, novelist and biographer, 58; Livia Gollan, musician and publisher, 76; Sir Eldon Griffiths, former Conservative MP, 71; Michael Harris, cricket umpire, 52; Baroness Hooper, former Conservative minister, 57; David Jenkins, athlete, 44; Sir Ian McKellen, actor, 57; Geoffrey Robinson, Labour MP, 58; Beverley Sills, operatic soprano and manager, 67; Dave Lee Travis, disc jockey, 51; David Wynne, sculptor, 70.

Tomorrow's birthdays: Susan Baird, former Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant of Glasgow, 56; Helena Bonham-Carter, actress, 30; Gill Cole-ridge, literary agent, 48; Jeremy Corbyn, Labour MP, 47; Roy Dotrice, actor, 71; Sir David English, chairman



and editor-in-chief, Associated Newspapers, 65; Sir Peter Fry, Conservative MP, 65; Tony Green, chairman, Guinness, 55; Alan Hollinghurst, novelist, 42; Prof Walter Laqueur, historian, former director, Wiener Library, 75; Peggy Lee, singer, lyricist, 76; Alec McCowen, actor, 71; Prof William McBryde, scholar of Hebrew, 85; Stevie Nicks, rock singer, 48; Zola Pisterse (née Baud), runner, 30; Michael Portillo MP, Secretary of State for Defence, 43; Prof Sally Ride, American astronaut and physicist, 45; Ian Sparks, director, the Children's Society, 53; Lord Stevens of Ludgate, chairman, United Newspapers, 60; Philip Treacy, fashion designer, 25.

Ryan Worrall

RYAN WORRALL, who has died aged 83, was a doctor, a philosopher of science and a free spirit, writes *Walter Kendall*. His books *The Outlook of Science and Footsteps of Warfare*, published in the thirties and *Energy and Matter* (1948) were commended by Einstein. Worrall, who didn't fit into any party, also made an important contribution to early British Trotskyism.

Born in Australia, Worrall went to Russia as the correspondent of the Australian Labour Party's daily paper. He left the Soviet Union for Britain in 1927, joining in succession the Labour, the Independent Labour and Communist parties. As a delegate to the CP's 1929 congress he was so influenced by the wild "third period" line — which, emanating from Stalin, labelled social democrats "social fascists" — that he advocated armed struggle in Britain and Germany. He was suspected of being a police spy, and expelled.

A visit to pre-Hitler Germany convinced him of the futility of third period politics — which aided the Nazi takeover. Back in Britain he joined the small band of British Trotskyists and was one of the first to consider that the

Soviet Union was a "state capitalist" society.

During the second world war he served as Brighton's medical officer of health before being dismissed from his post for putting out a leaflet objecting to the suicidal policy of sending evacuee children "to the front line". He was reinstated after a German bomb killed several children there during a cinema matinée.

Postwar he devoted himself to scientific research, being particularly interested in the relationship between dialectics and the methodology of scientific understanding. In the thirties he had corresponded with Trotsky on the subject.

Death Notices

DEANES, Anthony Leslie, of Truro, Cornwall died peacefully at home on the 26th May. Much loved husband of Frances and much loved father of Rosie, Chris and Michael. Family funeral. Memorial service to be arranged. Donations if desired to Cornwall Family Hospice, 11 St James's Place, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 1SD. 01752 6914.

REMNICK, Jack, on May 20th 1998 aged 76. Cremated at Sutton Coldfield Crematorium at 12.30 on 21st May, followed by a eulogising service at St James Hill, Four Church Hill. All who knew him are well. Donations to Christian Aid, Somerset Diocese, c/o F.M. & J. Watt Funeral Directors, 50, Park Street, Lichfield, Staffs, W613 6PW.

Face to Faith

Getting in the holiday Spirit

Hugo Slim

A FEW weeks ago I stood before a pay-and-display seaside car park. The instructions told me that I should pay 30 pence an hour between Christmas and Whitsun, but 50 pence per hour from Whitsun onwards. In today's world of faith and no-faith Britain, it was strange (but also endearing) to find a place where you can get a parking fine if your knowledge of the Christian calendar is not up to scratch.

So here is a warning to anyone on holiday in Cornwall this weekend: tomorrow is Whit Sunday and car parking fees go up. Such warning duly given, it might also be interesting to reflect upon why Whitsun is so important that it even dictates the pricing policy of Britain's tourist industry.

Whitsun is the peculiarly English name for the Feast of Pentecost — the day we remember the coming of the Holy Spirit which descended "like the rush of a mighty wind", and settled like "tongues of fire" upon the disciples. Coming 50 days after Easter (the Greek word "pentecost" means 50th) this event transformed the disciples from a timid, confused and leaderless band into a formidable collection of confident, determined and multilingual preachers ready to take on the whole world.

A popular time for baptisms in medieval England, the Feast of Pentecost became known as Whitsun, or White Sunday, because of the white robes worn by those being baptised. In contrast, Pentecost was known as the Red Feast throughout the rest of Europe — a reminder that Britain has

been at odds with Europe before now. Unusually for a joyful high feast, the liturgical colour for the Feast of Pentecost is red in remembrance of the tongues of fire.

Whitsun or Pentecost is thus the great feast of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity: the "comforter" and "counselor" who works within us and between us to bring about God's kingdom. This language used to describe the Holy Spirit in the Gospels sounds, at first hearing, very contemporary. Indeed, it seems to make this person of the Trinity the most appealing. At a time when many claim masculinity is in crisis, and images of fatherhood and sonship are regarded with some unease, the Holy Spirit is in some ways the most accessible person of the Godhead.

But to equate the Spirit with gentleness alone would be a

mistake. The Holy Spirit is a force to be reckoned with. It is a Spirit of power. While it comforts and consoles, it also makes things happen. It binds people together, and gives individual and group strength beyond the norm, a power which surprises and sustains them. Above all, the Holy Spirit is the great communicator — the messenger of God. As the Spirit of truth, it inspires people to speak out and bear witness to truth.

Born of experience and spoken with conviction, God's truth touches the Spirit within each one of us. As the "birthday of the Church", Pentecost celebrates a message of good news which moved like wind or fire throughout the world long before our own communications revolution.

But the power of the Spirit has always been controversial. Charismatics of all kinds — from Isaiah to people gripped by the strange babbling and barking of the Toronto Blessing today — have claimed that the Spirit is upon them. This is disturbing to many people. The Holy Spirit may have in-

spired the beautiful and prophetic verse of Isaiah, can it also be responsible for such weird behaviour? The challenge is to distinguish between spiritual ecstasy and group hysteria. There is a simple test for the Holy Spirit: one knows it by its fruits. The Christian feast of Pentecost was born out

of the ancient Jewish feast of Shavuot, the festival which celebrates the "first fruits" of the agricultural season and the giving of the Ten Commandments. For Christians, Pentecost celebrates the Spirit as the first fruits of the kingdom of Heaven.

There are seven gifts of the

Holy Spirit and 12 fruits. The gifts are wisdom, understanding, right judgment, courage, reverence, wonder and awe. The fruits are: charity, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, generosity, gentleness, faithfulness, modesty, self-control and chastity. If Whitsun can still dictate the

prices in our car parks, then surely the Holy Spirit can continue to inspire these fruits.

Hugo Slim is the author of *A Feast of Festivals: Celebrating the Spiritual Seasons of the Year* and Senior Lecturer in Humanitarian Assistance at Oxford Brookes University

Doonesbury



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

السلامة والرفاهية

Money Guardian

Home sweet home loan at 0 per cent

Forget warnings by the Old Lady and get in while you can. IAN WYLIE looks at the options

BORROWERS should not be deterred from exploiting mortgage giveaways despite warnings this week that they could be storing up trouble for the future.

Would-be home owners, or those considering switching their home loans to cut repayments, should not shun a discounted offer for fear that the latest price war could be a closing down sale after the Bank of England slated cut-price mortgage deals. Loans are currently on offer at an astonishing rate of 0 per cent, and borrowers can collect cashbacks of up to £12,000.

Best deals	
National & Provincial	0%
Hinkley & Rugby	0.11%
Scarborough	0.05%
Principality	1.00%
Nationwide	1.89%

These rates last for one year or less

ucts," said Woolwich spokesman Charles Crouch. The Woolwich — currently offering cashbacks of up to £5,000 — also rejects the Bank's charge of easing credit checks. "It is very important that lenders rate the borrower's ability to pay back the whole mortgage, not just over the discounted period," says Mr Crouch.

uses to offer its discount mortgage rates of 2.19 per cent and 2.99 per cent for one year, but says it is now trying to steer customers away from short-term fixes.

But Rob Thomas, building society analyst at stockbroker UBS, says the generous cashbacks and basement rates are not going to disappear overnight: "Lenders who are keen to grow their market share will always offer these headline rates just to get people through their doors."

Competition for borrowers in negative equity is also intensifying. Many of the largest lenders already offer rescue schemes for existing borrowers, but a growing number of lenders are now willing to consider borrowers who have their mortgage elsewhere. This week Mortgage Express, the specialist mortgage lender arm of Lloyds TSB, launched the first scheme which allows borrowers in negative equity to let their existing property and buy a new one.

Under the 'Let and Buy' scheme, tenants for the existing property are found and managed by rental agency Johnson Fry Housing. If the rental income is sufficient, Mortgage Express will then grant a new mortgage to the borrower at a rate of between 1.5 per cent and 1.75 per cent above the Bank of England base rate. Borrowers must have at least a 5 per cent deposit to put down on their new property and their existing lenders must agree to the letting of the first property.



Lifting the veil... European investment banks are putting together packages designed to appeal to Muslim savers

Growing interest in Islam

Meek Pandya

URSURY is contrary to Islam. The Holy Koran is explicit on that point. But what exactly is usury? Conventional Islamic wisdom has taken it to mean fixed interest in any form.

However, two years ago the theological academy in Saudi Arabia issued a fatwa, or edict, on investment banking. This ruled that, within limits, investment in stocks and shares was permissible under Sharia — Islamic law.

Now strategists at European investment banks have begun to respond to

this opportunity and several are putting together products to appeal to Muslim savers. First off the mark in the UK is merchant bank Flemings with the launch of its own equity investment fund which complies with the new interpretation of Sharia.

To ensure that Oasis, its Islamic fund, is fully compatible with Sharia law the bank has set up a supervisory board of three Islamic scholars, which must oversee not only every investment in the fund but also the way it conducts its business.

The board will decide whether investing in partic-

ular companies is *halal* (acceptable) or *haram* (forbidden). The fund, which sets a minimum investment of \$50,000 (£34,000) is aimed at the Muslim community in Britain.

It will select its investments from the 2,600 international companies which make up the Morgan Stanley Capital Index, after weeding out companies engaged in activities such as money lending, manufacturing alcoholic drinks and gambling, or firms that trade with hefty borrowings, leaving around 1,000 companies including Toyota, Cable & Wireless, and drug companies such as Roche.

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Why top insurers give customers a raw deal

Teresa Hunter and Jill Papworth

INSURANCE companies are continuing to short change their customers through unacceptably high charges, according to a new survey published by leading actuaries this week.

As Virgin Direct, the financial services arm of Richard Branson's Virgin Group, launches low-cost life assurance, actuaries have pointed the finger at a number of companies which have provided consistently poor returns for their customers.

Household names such as Eagle Star, Prudential, Royal, Colonial, Scottish Amicable and Sun Life have all delivered poor returns to their with-profits policyholders, according to the survey.

One measure of whether customers are getting a raw deal lies with the impact charges make on investment

returns — otherwise known as the reduction in yield. This shows that the Guardian Insurance Company pockets 8.1 per cent per year from any investment growth on 10-year pensions policies.

Given that few companies would expect consistently to earn much more than 10 per cent annually on investments this leaves less than a meagre 2 per cent for the policyholder.

Turnbridge Wells and Wesleyan each keep 6 per cent annually on charges — although the Wesleyan's past performance on pensions generally is good. By contrast, however, Equitable Life charges only 1.4 per cent and the CIS 2.1 per cent on 10-year pensions — against typical charges of 4 and 5 per cent.

Actuary John Jenkins, one of the insurance world's number crunchers at KPMG, said: "With this level of charges, customers really need to ask themselves whether these 10-year policies are worth buy-

What to look for

TERM ASSURANCE: Best value life insurance which pays out only on death within a pre-determined period — usually five, 10 or 15 years.

WITH-PROFITS LIFE OR ENDOWMENT: combines basic life assurance with a savings plan. Pays out an agreed sum on death within a pre-determined term — or an investment lump sum at the end of the term, known as maturity value.

WITH-PROFITS PENSIONS: Premiums taken from tax-free savings accumulate through the addition of annual bonuses and an additional terminal bonus. Investments can be made either via single premium policies or regular premiums.

ing. Unless they opt for good value companies like the Equitable, it could be argued that they might do better looking elsewhere.

Charges on 25-year endowment and pensions contracts are more reasonable — but policyholders must stay the full course to avoid being heavily penalised by early sur-

render charges. Again, the Equitable leads the attack with reduction in yields on its 25-year endowments of 0.5 per cent and pensions at 0.8 per cent. Most other companies charge somewhere between 1 and 2 per cent — but even on a 25-year pension policy Guardian pockets 4.7 per cent of the investment growth.

Virgin boss Richard Branson has pledged to undercut the insurance giants when he launches life assurance policies over the telephone. He also plans to offer pensions before the end of the year.

The group's aim in the life and pensions arena is to repeat the success it has had with personal equity plans where it has £325 million under management — having taken some 6 per cent of all new Peps sold since it entered the market just over a year ago.

Roman Cizdyn, insurance analyst with Merrill Lynch, says: "Mr Branson won't have the same clear run as Direct Line did when it entered the motor insurance market. The established insurers have woken up to the impact of this sort of competition and have taken steps to make sure they won't get caught out again."

But as the KPMG survey shows, competition may not be all that tough. The report

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SCOTTISH WIDOWS

Plan to cut 600 jobs in run-up to sale prompts safety fear • Warning of 'decisive and immediate' action

Nuclear unions talk strike

Chris Barrie

A STRIKE threat last night hung over the soon-to-be-privatised nuclear industry as plans emerged showing that up to half of Nuclear Electric's headquarters staff, including people in key safety jobs, could be sacked.

are contemplating redundancies for up to 600 people, half of the staff, at the company's headquarters in Barnwood, Gloucestershire. One insider said the industry had already shed 35 per cent of its staff in the run-up to privatisation. Now cuts may be contemplated in areas such as research and development. Research is considered a safety-related activity because breakdown in an atomic reactor needs swift technical investigation. The industry's advanced gas-cooled reactors have suffered persistent problems in the past year as managers have fought to raise output

ahead of the sale. But the company is under mounting pressure to cut costs in order to persuade sceptical investors to back the sell-off. Analysis released this week by the stockbroker EZW, adviser to the Government on the sale, cut the value of the industry by £700 million to between £1.7 billion and £2.1 billion, but said at least £40 million could be saved by 1998 through reductions in staffing at stations and administrative overheads. Tony Cooper, general secretary of the Engineers and Managers Association, warned that his members were "in the front line" when

there were safety problems. "If there were to be any threat to safety, our response would be decisive and immediate." Because his members were engineers and scientists in the industry, the union was in a strong position to assess the threat to safety of wide-scale job cuts. British Energy, the holding company of Nuclear Electric and Scottish Nuclear, said there were no job cuts "in train or announced" beyond those already made public. The company declined to comment on longer-term cost-cutting at Nuclear Electric. Scottish Nuclear said that 70 jobs were to go from its staff

this year. It also declined to discuss longer-term plans. The industry is trying to squeeze longer operating times out of its nuclear reactors. The sale prospectus, due to be published in mid-June, will highlight the potential for boosting revenues by extending the lives of the seven advanced gas-cooled reactors and the Sizewell B pressurised water reactor. The company will also cite extra revenue to be had by reducing the time needed to service reactors. Trade and Industry Secretary Ian Lang and his Opposition shadow, Margaret Beckett, clashed yesterday over the privatisation.

Mr Lang rejected Labour's call for the sale to be postponed, but admitted that crucial actuarial advice on the "segregated fund" — to pay for decommissioning reactors — had yet to be finalised. The Government has already decided, however, that the fund will need only £16 million a year from British Energy. Mrs Beckett said it was "increasingly clear" that the Government was unable to reassure taxpayers they would not pick up the bill for the sell-off. The Health and Safety Executive has allowed the elderly Magnox reactor at Dungeness, Kent, to continue operation for another 10 years.

Saturday Notebook

Doubt creeps into Dow celebration



Edited by Alex Brummer

THERE is likely to be much focus on the 100th birthday tomorrow of the Dow Jones Industrial Index, which for much of the past century has been the bell-weather of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. Certainly, it hasn't disappointed much in 1995, having touched a record 5778 on Wednesday and barely drawing breath since.

What is starting to obsess US analysts is the approaching presidential election. The second such contest, won by one George Washington in 1792, coincided with the foundation of the New York Stock Exchange, so there is a wealth of historical data. Every US election year since 1869 has been positive for equities. If records are examined for the two years ahead of a presidential election, it is found that shares — as measured by the broadly used S&P 500 — outperform cash and bonds.

Clearly, there has been nothing to disturb the peace so far this year, apart from a couple of spikes in the employment numbers and the turmoil at Fidelity Investments' Magellan Fund with the departure of Jeffrey Vinick amid complaints about performance. The sharp Clinton focus on the economy, which won for him in 1992 ("It's the economy, stupid") and the flow through in the shape of reduced budget deficits have even won over some traditional Wall Street barons. Not those at Brown Brothers Harriman & Co, the most blue-blooded of US investment houses, however.

In its latest market assessment, Brown Brothers expresses concern that the strength of Bill Clinton's lead over Bob Dole could bring Congress back to the Democrats in November. This, in the broker's view, would raise questions about the seriousness of the Democrats in bringing the deficit down below \$200 billion a year. It believes the deficit outlook is crucial, in that the bull market has been based on the belief that the demand for financial capital from the public sector is on a downward path. Thus far so good, with public spending for the 1997 financial year showing a 3 per cent real decline. That is good news; but it may not remain so if President Clinton's spending itch is freed from the likes of Newt Gingrich.

tion of order-driven trading for stock in the companies which buy up the FTSE 100 index. Why not look at the tax regime at the same time? Mr Clarke might, however, have been better advised to have gone for a more radical approach. Order-driven trading in the FTSE 100 will reduce the market-making capacity required within the City. Would it not have been better, therefore, simply to abolish the tax on share deals? That would have redeemed a manifesto pledge and might also have boosted stock market turnover, including in those non-FTSE 100 shares on which market-makers will have to focus.

Insurance risks

THE pending merger between the Royal Insurance and the Sun Alliance has created a great deal of excitement in the financial community. The broker Salomon Brothers has been among those to wax lyrical, pointing out that the "proposed executive team is commendably lean".

Is it? Whereas up to 5,000 other employees are to lose their jobs at the two companies, both chief executives, Roger Taylor and Richard Gamble, keep theirs, the former as executive deputy chairman and the latter as chief executive. The fact, of all the executives on the two existing boards there is scarcely one who does not make it on to the management board of the new Royal Sun Alliance: a point which is now being scrutinised by institutional investors.

Certainly, in any normal merger — look at Granada/Forst — the executives normally take a great deal of the pain. There is no point in doubling up on executive salaries — which have been increasing by leaps and bounds. A poorly designed Royal/Sun Alliance merger also will set bad precedents for those which come next, as they surely will.

A quick look down the table of the free-asset ratios of insurance companies, produced by actuaries at KPMG, illustrates why more insurance groups can be expected to change ownership. It is generally assumed that a comfortable free-asset ratio is 5 per cent or above, with market leaders like Standard Life up at 13.7 per cent. Among those in the weaker zone are Clerical Medical, already bought by the Halifax; Equitable Life (which is right on the 5 per cent margin); Friends Provident at 3 per cent and Scottish Mutual at 4.2 per cent. Norwich Union, at 7.3 per cent, is contemplating conversion to plc status to raise extra capital. The others, meanwhile, await the arrival of suitable white knights.

Share wheeze

CHANCELLOR Kenneth Clarke has asked the Securities and Investments Board to look at the exemption enjoyed by the City market-making firms from paying stamp duty on share deals.

The thinking behind Mr Clarke's move is that the exemption is a privilege and he wants to be sure that those who receive it are putting something back in terms of liquidity and price-setting. The timing, too, might seem reasonable. The way share dealing in the City is carried out is undergoing change, not least in the planned introduction of a new market.

Co-op farmers leaner and greener after 100 years

Maryn Halseall, Northern Industrial Correspondent

BITAIN'S biggest farmer, which ploughed its first furrow 100 years ago on 714 acres it bought for £30,000, yesterday celebrated its centenary with record profits and the largest managed landholding in its history.

The harvest of figures for CWS Agriculture, the farming arm of the Co-op, saw profits grow from £4.7 million to £5.6 million in 1994/95, on a turnover of £28 million. The results underlined an agricultural revolution. The company whose first estate, at Roden, Shropshire, was transferred in June 1996, now works more than 50,000 acres on 25 farms. Nearly 80 years ago, 28 cloth-capped and overalled men brought in the harvest at Coldham, Cambridgeshire.

The Co-op used its first tractor at Coldham in 1917, but had been using steam tractors — which did the work of seven horses — since about 1909. The last horse was put out to grass in 1964. The century also recorded changes in environmental priorities. Labour's photographed just after the first world war taking axes to hedge boundaries have been replaced by today's conservationists meticulously planting remnants. Each Co-op farm has its own conservation plan and some have been sites of special scientific interest since 1949. "With over 7,000 cattle, pollution control is clearly a problem," the Co-op said diplomatically.

Peeper's delight

NIGHT vision devices, based on Russian technology, is to go on sale in high street stores next week for about £350.

Its American maker, Moonlight Products, says it is ideal for the after-dark activities of bird-watchers and animal lovers. Nighttime anglers will be able to see fish underwater, while anxious farmers could monitor their livestock after the day's work is done. And, of course, "the security conscious will be able to keep an eye on their property at night". No mention, however, of how suitable it will be for poshers, burglars, peeping toms and the like.

Capital cuts by factory chiefs

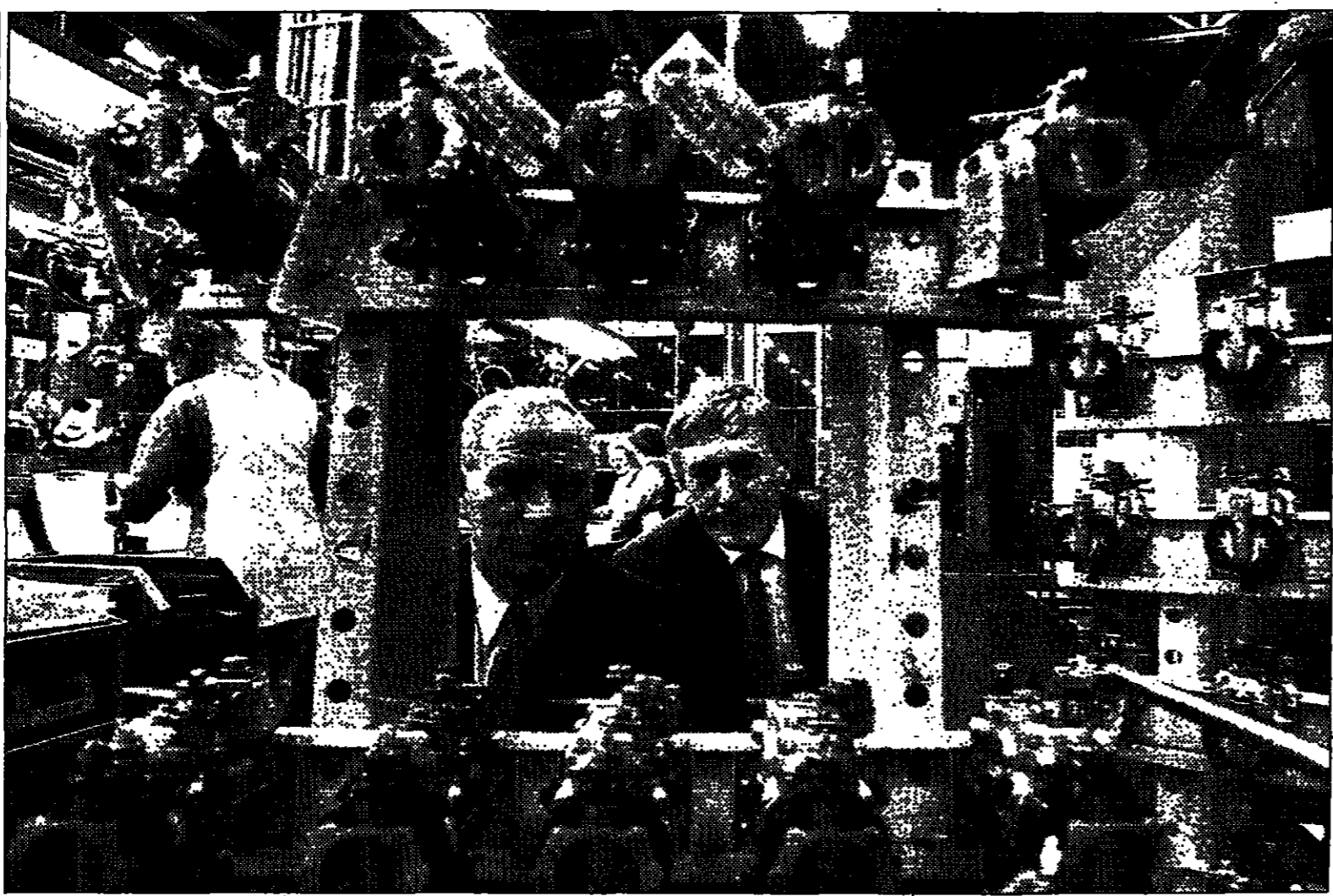
Sarah Ryle

FRESH evidence that the factory sector is struggling emerged yesterday when official figures showed that manufacturers reduced capital expenditure in the first three months of the year. Factory chiefs spent 2 per cent less than they did in the last three months of 1995, according to the Office for National Statistics.

Capital spending is regarded as a useful indicator of manufacturers' expectations because it includes provision for expansion of production. It has now fallen for the second quarter in a row. City analysts said yesterday's data did not tally with latest Confederation of British Industry evidence of fundamentally positive capital spending expectations in the sector.

Despite the quarterly fall in capital spending from £3.145 billion to £3.094 billion, the annual rate of growth was still positive and was slightly stronger at 0.8 per cent than in the previous three months.

However, there is still a problem with stock overhang. Factories built up fewer stocks in the first quarter this year than in the previous three months (worth £287 million against £348 million), while wholesalers and retailers registered much stronger stock building. This suggested that manufacturers may have sold on some stocks to retailers, but it could also indicate why manufacturers' expectations of holding more than adequate stock levels were still high.



Looking good... Lucas chief George Simpson (left) with John Grant, finance director, says talks are 'proceeding well'

Lucas and Varsity look likely to tie knot

Chris Barrie

THE prospects for a £3 billion merger between motor parts and aerospace group Lucas Industries and the US company Varsity strengthened dramatically yesterday when both companies indicated that talks on the financial structure of the deal were going well.

Although Lucas directors were tight-lipped about the details of the transaction, the company signalled its satisfaction with the negotiations so far amid signs that a full-blown merger, rather than a limited joint venture, is now on the table. In a formal statement issued ahead of a board meeting convened to consider the Varsity merger, Lucas said the discussions were "proceeding well". But it was "unlikely" that an announcement on an agreement would be made before early June.

Varsity, which owns the Kelsey-Hayes brakes business in the US and diesel engine maker Perkins in the UK, agreed discussions were "proceeding well" but refused to comment further. Advisors acting for Lucas

and Varsity are trying to resolve key issues such as the valuation of the two businesses. On the basis of market capitalisation, Lucas shareholders could expect to hold just over 60 per cent of the combined group's equity. Lucas chief executive George Simpson is known to favour the deal as a way of boosting Lucas's global standing as a motor components

supplier. Varsity would also give Lucas a strong American foothold. Varsity's chief executive, Victor Rice, is tipped to be chief executive of the combined group while Lucas chairman Sir Brian Pearce would become chairman. Mr Simpson has already said he is joining GEC later this year. Lucas shares closed 2p down at 235p.

New Indonesian policy riles foreign car firms

John Aglionby in Jakarta

FOREIGN motor manufacturers are threatening to quit Indonesia unless President Suharto reconsiders the country's new national car policy, which they claim is against World Trade Organisation (WTO) regulations.

Yesterday, the American Automobile Manufacturers Association (AAMA) joined the chorus of local car makers, Japanese firms and the European Union in demanding that Jakarta revoke the preferential treatment given to PT Timor Putra Nasional, a company run by President Suharto's youngest son, Hutomo Mandala Putra. Under the new scheme, Timor Putra will be exempt from paying the 100-200 per cent import tax on car components and the 35-35 per cent luxury sales duty when its

Timor cars, produced in co-operation with Kia Motor Corp of South Korea, rolls off the assembly line. This is scheduled for September. Under the arrangements Timor Putra will be able to undercut its rivals by up to 50 per cent. Car sales in Indonesia have slumped since the programme was announced in February as many people are waiting to buy the Timor car. According to AAMA president Andrew Card, the policy is protectionist and a regressive step for Indonesia's recent de-regulatory programme. He said: "Indonesia was on the road to success, but has now put up a stop sign. The new national car programme appears to signal a change in direction from its good record on de-regulation and promotion of free market principles."

The AAMA is the trade association for Chrysler, the

Ford Motor Company and General Motors, which has its only plant for right hand drive Chevrolet Blazer trucks in Indonesia. "We hope that the flawed national car programme will be re-visited and that there will be an effort to bring the programme into compliance with the world trading system," Mr Card added. The national car policy has also drawn criticism from Japan and European Union trade commissioner Sir Leon Brittan, who said during a visit to Jakarta last month that it was contrary to Indonesia's obligation under the World Trade Agreement. Japan's ministry of trade and industry also argues that the national car programme breached WTO rules. Indonesia and Japan's bilateral talks to try and solve their differences have proved inconclusive. No government has raised the case at the WTO yet.

Smokers to extend legal contest across 50 states

Mark Tran in New York

LAWYERS representing smokers yesterday prepared to do battle in all 50 states after a federal court in New Orleans threw out a huge class action suit against the tobacco industry on behalf of millions of smokers.

Undeterred by the New Orleans setback, a consortium of nearly 60 plaintiffs' lawyers will continue its legal fight by filing new class action suits in every state. "We do have Plan B for this contingency," said John Coale, a lawyer speaking on behalf of the plaintiffs. "We would have liked to have won this decision, but we're not going to go away." The three appeal judges in New Orleans handed the tobacco industry an impor-

tant victory on Thursday, when they ruled against an attempt to bundle lawsuits into a single case representing virtually every smoker who claims to have become addicted to nicotine. In a unanimous verdict, the judges asserted that the Castano case — named after the lead defendant — would be too unwieldy and that there were too many differences between the individual cases. The court did not touch on the merits of the core accusation from the plaintiffs: cigarette makers knew about the addictive power of nicotine and manipulated nicotine levels to get smokers hooked.

Tobacco shares immediately jumped on the news and yesterday most companies made further advances. Philip Morris, which jumped 86% on Thursday, edged up 1/4 yesterday morn-

ing to \$104. The only company to slip was B&W, which dipped 1/4 to \$16 1/4, although in the UK BAT's shares jumped 19p to 521p on the news. Philip Morris and Brown & Williamson, a BAT subsidiary, both said that the ruling sent a message to other courts against taking up similar class action suits similar to Castano. "The judicial system was not designed as a lawyer enrichment device, which is becoming the typical result of today's class action lawsuits", said Brown & Williamson. The New Orleans decision emphasised the difficulty of prevailing against the tobacco industry in the courts. Cigarette makers have yet to pay a penny in damages and this week's victory represented a huge boost for a \$45 billion (£30.4 billion) industry.

United Friendly opts to back out of motor cover

Pauline Springett

UNITED Friendly will not write any new motor insurance business from July 1, although it will continue to honour existing policies. Group investment director John McLachlan said the decision had been triggered by the current competitive conditions in the motor insurance market.

Mr McLachlan added that United Friendly had a relatively small motor portfolio — representing about one-eighth of its total annual premium income, most of which comes from life insurance. He also acknowledged that although

the motor account had made a small underwriting profit in 1994, it had barely broken even last year. Mr McLachlan predicted there would be further consolidation within the motor insurance industry. "There are too many players chasing too few customers," he said. United Friendly's move comes shortly after the revelation that General Accident is looking to a further increase in its motor rates. It raised them by 4 per cent at the beginning of April. That move followed the announcement that motor insurance market leader Direct Line, the telephone insurance subsidiary of Royal Bank of

Scotland, had seen its half-year profits dive by 90 per cent. Meanwhile, the Association of British Insurers said that subsidence and bad weather claims had risen sharply in the first three months of the year. The ABI said that weather damage claims for the UK had risen to £208 million — a rise of 185 per cent compared with the same period last year — while subsidence claims had doubled to £68 million, compared with 1995. ABI director general Mark Boleat said the figures were disappointing and blamed them on the hot summer and freezing winter.

Regional malls hit city shopping quality

Roger Coore

COMPETITION from regional shopping centres has not hit jobs in city centre shops as much as had been thought, according to a study by the economic research organisation CES. But the research shows that the quality of shops in such city centres has declined. Retail employment in Gateshead and Newcastle was higher in 1993 (the latest date for available census data) than it was in 1984. That was the year before the opening of the Metro Centre, one of the largest and oldest of the regional shopping malls.

At the same time the Metro Centre has employed almost 4,000 people, creating a substantial boost to total shop jobs in the area. The impact of the Merry Hill centre near Dudley, and Sheffield's Meadowhall mall, which between them employ more than 7,000 people, is less clear. Shop jobs in Dudley dropped dramatically from 1984 to 1993, by almost 1,000 to just under 1,300. Jobs in Birmingham also slumped, down from almost 12,000 to under 7,000 in the same period. Similarly, Sheffield retail employment dropped from almost 10,000 in 1984 to just over 7,000.

But CES says Sheffield's shopping centre was declining before the opening of Meadowhall. Birmingham had also lost thousands of jobs in the 1980s before the opening of Merry Hill. Employment in Birmingham shops seems to have stabilised at the beginning of the 1990s, while the rate of job losses in Dudley also seems to have slowed down. The standing of most city centres has fallen, however. Sheffield dropped down the Hillier Parker rankings from ninth in 1984 to 23rd last year. Of these cities, only Birmingham has clung on, ranking fourth last year compared to second in 1984.

TOURIST RATES - BANK SELLS

Australia 1 8550	France 7.83	Italy 2 215	Singapore 2 08
Austria 15 91	Germany 3 225	Japan 1 520	South Africa 6 41
Belgium 46 44	Greece 380 50	Netherlands 2 5350	Spain 188 25
Canada 6 250	Hong Kong 11 40	New Zealand 2 15	Sweden 10 19
Cyprus 0 6950	India 52 86	Norway 8 73	Switzerland 1 850
Denmark 8 77	Ireland 0 9400	Portugal 2 50	Taiwan 112 838
Finland 1 72	Israel 4 94	Saudi Arabia 5 84	USA 1 4790

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel)

Handwritten Arabic text: لا بد ان يكون

Steady does it, as Dutch bank extends its dykes

Mark Miller in Amsterdam

THE atmosphere in the executive dining suite of ABN Amro's headquarters in Amsterdam echoes the discreet charm of a top restaurant. Black-jacketed waiters slip unobtrusively between the kitchen and the diners who, even in egalitarian Holland, need a tie.

For a brief spell earlier this month, however, Dining Room Number Nine had a different role. Its cool, pastel walls hid a secret. Cutlery and sparkling glassware were confined to drawer and cupboard, to be replaced by phones and faxes.

The room became the safe house from which to conduct the "Taylor" project — ABN Amro's negotiations over the joint venture with the London investment bank NM Rothschild, headed by Sir Evelyn de Rothschild. Even within the two banks, information about the Taylor project was closely held — though the project team's taste for cloak and dagger was limited.

Documents referred to ABN Amro/Taylor, but anyone ringing Mr Taylor's number would have found themselves connected to the Rothschild switchboard. The deal, under

which the two banks will work together to underwrite and distribute shares internationally, was greeted with widespread acclaim when it was finally unveiled.

It was seen as an important step forward in the Dutch group's plans to be a universal bank.

On the commercial banking side, ABN Amro is already up with the world's leaders, while a string of modest acquisitions over the years — from the Royal Bank of Canada, HG Asia, Alfred Berg in Scandinavia — has given it a broadly based equity distribution network.

That, however, has still left the Dutch bank some way short of what the Americans refer to as "the bulge bracket" as far as investment banking is concerned.

As part of its strategy of building up the investment banking side, ABN Amro had earlier run its slide rule over Barings in the wake of the latter's collapse, but the British bank was subsequently sold to another Dutch group, ING. To the chagrin of many ABN Amro executives, most of the Netherlands insists on seeing ING's move as a victory over its Dutch rival — an interpretation which ABN Amro forcefully rejects.

Even ABN Amro would acknowledge, however, that

parts of Barings would have fitted into its investment banking side — though there would have been some hefty overlap, too. The joint venture with Rothschild is unusual among the links between British merchant banks and big continental commercial banks. In that it does not involve the latter taking control, or even a stake in the former.

Was that what ABN Amro wanted, or was that the only way it could tie up with Rothschild? Faced with the question, ABN Amro's petrician chairman, Jan Kalf, peers quizzically over his spectacles and is then as dismissive as his considerable courtesy permits.

"We were not after the bank, we knew it was not available. We never discussed it; that would have been counter-productive. What we did was work in a particular way to improve further the already very successful working relationship with Rothschild in the international equity markets."

Mr Kalf sees the arrangement as good news for both parties. "The idea was born of working together. Over the years we have done many deals with Rothschild. They have become more and more impressed by our placing capacity, they have a very strong track record to all sorts of big

customers: corporations and, in particular, governments which are considering privatisation."

The link with Rothschild is clearly not the limit of ABN Amro's ambition — though Standard Life's Bank of Scotland stake is not on the shopping list. Asset management is an area in which ABN Amro would like to increase its presence, but Mr Kalf is determined any deals should meet the bank's financial criteria — in other words he sees little prospect, at current prices, of a purchase which would produce the 14 per cent return the bank achieved last year.

He sees no need to change the bank's incremental approach to its expansion. Some of the pieces that make up the bank's strategy are now well established. Others have yet to be proved but, as Mr Kalf says, "So far, so good."

Wilco Hiskoot, ABN Amro's top investment banker and the man behind the Rothschild deal, is equally positive that the bank has no need to rush around the world waving a cheque book. "Given the business mix we have today, I have never seen a time when there were so many opportunities from our existing operations."

Why make a big move when every existing business line is booming? he asks.



Prowling patrician... ABN Amro chairman Jan Kalf is looking out for acquisitions. PHOTOGRAPH: MARCEL ANTONISSE

Stagecoach eyes Swedish bus firm

Ian King

STAGECOACH, Britain's biggest private bus operator, is considering making a bid for Swedbus, the Swedish bus operator owned by Swedish Railways, which is being privatised for around SEK1 billion (£36 million).

Stagecoach is among several firms reported to be interested in Swedbus, including FirstBus — Britain's second-biggest bus operator, formed last year from the merger between GRT and Badgerline — and the Swedish group, EQP.

Swedbus, which controls around 30 per cent of the Swedish bus market and has operations in Denmark, Norway and Finland, enjoyed sales of around SEK3.5 billion (£385 million) in 1995, notching up profits after tax of about SEK111 million (£10 million).

A Stagecoach spokesman refused to comment on the rumours. However, sources

close to the company confirmed that it was interested in bidding for Swedbus, although developments were at "a very early stage".

Meanwhile, a spokesman for FirstBus said the company was not interested in market rumours. Stagecoach and FirstBus have both been linked in recent weeks with possible bids for private rail franchises.

The sale of Swedbus is part of the privatisation of the Swedish rail network, the door to which was opened in 1995 when the country's parliament in 1988 approved legislation separating infrastructure management from train operations. The model has been copied — superficially at least — by Britain's rail privatisation programme.

In Sweden, the programme has been so successful that the country's airlines have been badly hit on domestic routes, where it is now more popular to take the train.

Interbrew future cloudy as aristocratic families wage war over group strategy

Belgian brewer's global ambition may force a flotation, writes IAN KING

ASKED to name the world's third biggest brewer, few would suggest a privately-owned outfit whose founding dynasties trace their brewing origins back to the late 18th century, let alone one based in little Belgium.

Yet Interbrew's products are quaffed in every corner of the globe, and their brands — including Stella Artois, Hoegaarden and Oranjeboom — have crept inexorably into the lexicon of the British drinker, attracting envious glances from rivals only too aware that premium lager is the best market to be in at present.

Interbrew was formed in 1987 from the merger of Belgium's two main breweries, which were dominated by the Jupiler and Stella Artois brands, but the bland Interbrew moniker disguises a proud family heritage.

The three founding families that still control the group, the de Spoelberch, Van Damme and de Mervin clans, are the direct descendants of the blue-blooded Artois and Piedboeuf families that have dominated the Belgian brewing scene for centuries.

But the families realised that, to survive, a merger was in their best interests, and since 1967 have sought ways to build on that base.

The deal that has propelled Interbrew into one of the giants of world brewing was completed last July, doubling the company's size and turnover at a stroke and rewriting the Belgian corporate record books.

In an audacious C\$2.7 billion (£1.3 billion) swoop that startled many observers, Interbrew snatched up John Labatt, the Canadian brewer, from under the noses of sev-

eral rivals, including — it is thought — Carlsberg.

Since then, it has wasted no time in stripping Labatt down to its essentials. The group's broadcasting assets were first to go, sold to a management buy-out team and raising C\$600 million (£268 million).

But the sales have, to an extent, been forced on Interbrew. In buying Labatt, the group incurred debts of C\$1.6 billion, much of which was arranged on a short-term basis. The need to service this debt has raised suggestions — strongly denied, that the company may even have to seek a stock market flotation.

Equally pressing, in the view of Interbrew's critics, is its need to thrash out a convincing global strategy. Although it has plenty of strong brands, with the list now boosted by Labatt's and Rolling Rock since last year's deal, Interbrew has not got one individual "powerhouse" name similar to its global rivals — names like Miller, Budweiser and Heineken.

More seriously, all of the successful brand-building completed on behalf of the group has been done by other companies, such as the way Whitbread has built up Stella Artois in Britain.

Last week Interbrew signed a similar licensing agreement with Whitbread for the Labatt brand, suggesting it intends to continue doing business in this way.

This may not be enough. A reported row over strategy with the shareholding families has already lost Interbrew its highly-rated Dutch chief executive, Hans Meerloo, who quit late last year.

Mr Meerloo had been credited with successfully developing the group's international expansion since it was formed, and, with industry gossip suggesting the state-owned telephone monopoly, OTE, decision by OTE to grant a contract to Greece's Intracom and Germany's Siemens to supply the public utility with more than one million digital switching systems worth more than \$6 billion drachmas (£138 million).

A judicial council, made up of appeal court judges, appointed magistrate Giorgos Nafliotis to determine if there was any fraud involved and if charges should be brought

Phones fraud fear in Greece

Contract placed by the state monopoly OTE is subject of magistrate inquiry

THE Greek authorities appointed an investigating magistrate this week to look into allegations of fraud in the granting of a contract to supply digital switching systems to the state-owned telephone monopoly, OTE.

The case involves a 1998 decision by OTE to grant a contract to Greece's Intracom and Germany's Siemens to supply the public utility with more than one million digital switching systems worth more than \$6 billion drachmas (£138 million).

A judicial council, made up of appeal court judges, appointed magistrate Giorgos Nafliotis to determine if there was any fraud involved and if charges should be brought

against the two companies.

Socrates Kokkalis, the chairman of Intracom, and the Greek subsidiary of Siemens have both accused their competitors of using the local press and some politicians to instigate the investigation.

They have said that the allegations are groundless and are designed to prevent the two companies from bidding for further contracts.

OTE will make decisions this year on a one trillion drachmas (£2.7 billion) modernisation plan that includes the purchase of two million digital switches.

Siemens said further delays in implementing the plan would force it to stop production in Greece by the end of the year.

Intracom and the various companies that make up its group are the leading suppliers of telecommunications equipment and related software in Greece with sales of more than \$662 million.



Parisian protesters remind Chirac that election battle cry was to defend jobs — not destroy them

THE Parisian protester wearing a Jacques Chirac mask bears a banner reading: "Let's declare war on unemployment" — a reminder of the French president's election pledge to tackle France's unemployment problem.

Workers took to the streets of the French capital on Thursday in protest against government plans to reduce France's public sector deficit by cutting jobs. Support for the unions' calls for a day of action was reported to be patchy elsewhere in France.

Press reports suggest that the French government is seeking about 25,000 job cuts as part of its campaign to meet the debt and deficit criteria for monetary union laid down in the Maastricht treaty.

Unions, keen to see the govern-

ment redeem pledges to tackle unemployment, have called for a reduction in the working week rather than redundancies.

Alain Juppé, the prime minister, signalled that he was prepared to talk to the unions about their idea.

Mr Juppé reportedly wants to keep next year's government spending pegged at current levels.

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EC and industry join forces as bureaucracy-busters

Slimming regime aims to get internal market fit. DAVID RUDNICK reports

MORE THAN 30 of Britain's biggest and best-known companies assembled at the BT Centre in London to support Slim, the European Commission's long-overdue plan to simplify legislation for the internal market.

The brainchild of Italian commissioner Mario Monti, Slim is starting with a pilot scheme to simplify plant legislation and complex technical rules for construction products, as well as recognition of diplomas and the Intrastat system of compiling intra-European Union trade data.

In a break with the past, the team-slimming initiative will be made up not only of bureaucrats from the Commission and national civil services but also companies affected by Euro-rules and regulations.

Mr Monti believes the initiative will give European

companies clearer legislation. The Slim teams have been given a November deadline to report their findings in the four initial target areas.

British companies are among those most keen to see progress made. The London meeting was organised by the European Business Foundation, an informal network of UK corporate and trade associations that want business to have a bigger — and earlier — say in formulating Euro-market legislation. The EBF welcomes Mr Monti's initiative, saying it will make companies more competitive and boost sagging employment across Europe.

Effective UK company liaison with Brussels still seems heavily reliant on personal contacts. Many executives complain of the frustrations of discharging the Commission's intentions early enough to in-

tervene before a draft directive becomes law.

Public procurement remains a notoriously nationalistic nook in the formally free and competitive EU market. Complaints about that advertisements and invitations to tender do not contain all the information would-be contractors need.

A number of British companies intend to raise the issue with Mr Monti. "It's not easy," said one. "As soon as conversation with him gets off general principles and down to specific issues, he passes the buck to junior colleagues in specialist departments."

But the more general need is for clearer channels of communication between Brussels and British industry.

"Take the Slim initiative for example," said one. "The CBI newsletter seems to have been the main vehicle for information but even so — and despite trade associations' best efforts — many UK companies still haven't even heard of its existence."

Update

□ Norwegian offshore engineer and shipbuilder Kvaerner said yesterday it had won a £20 million contract to build a 94,000-tonne dead-weight chemical tanker for Norwegian shipper JO Tankers.

Kvaerner said the contract was given to its subsidiary, Kvaerner Govan, Britain's biggest shipbuilder, which will deliver the tanker in spring 1998. The contract was subject to satisfactory completion of financial conditions, a statement said.

The vessel will be a sister ship to the Kvaerner Govan-built JO Seja, which has a full double hull for protection against cargo spillage and environmental damage. Two further ships have been built to the same design for JO Tank-

ers at Kvaerner's Floro shipyard in Norway.

□ British Steel and the Dutch steel company Hoogovens said they would sue the European Commission over its decision to approve £38 million of aid to Irish Steel, Ireland's only steel-maker. The two companies claim the state aid amounts to unfair competition.

□ The European Commission yesterday cleared the merger of the rigid plastic films businesses of Hoechst and Klockner-Werke. The plastic films are used in packaging and for making credit cards.

□ Finland has cut its official forecast for 1996 economic growth, but said con-

ditions were still favourable and the economy would start to pick up later this year. Citing slower-than-expected growth in Europe and a sharp slowdown late last year in key sectors like forestry, the finance ministry cut its 1996 growth forecast for gross domestic product to 5 per cent from 5.5 per cent in February.

□ Greece should take measures to cut its central government budget deficit in the near future or the shortfall will exceed its 1996 target by about one percentage point of gross domestic product, the International Monetary Fund said this week.

European Business is edited by Mark Miller

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reeps into
ebration

Insurance risks

Peepers's delight

mmers leaner and
after 100 years

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

Finance Guardian

Stocking up for welfare winter

Privatisation has failed to produce a whole new generation of equity-holding Sids. So who will fund the widely-promoted shift from cradle-to-grave security? PATRICK DONOVAN and SARAH RYLE report

Teenage fantasy turns to portfolio management

BEFORE Hollywood's version of young enterprise, Risky Business, explored the merits of brotch-ownership, most schoolchildren believed running a sixth-form business involved producing pen-pal letters and selling them to family and friends. Another defining moment in the history of youth financial development has now arrived. Moving on from the excitement of fantasy share dealing, teenagers have begun to dabble in the real thing.

At London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange (Liffe) this week, seven schools competed to be the hottest portfolio managers. Among them was a comprehensive whose pupils run real-life investment clubs alongside fantasy teams. Pupils at Thornden School, at Chandler's Ford in Hampshire, decided traditional savings accounts were just too unexciting. They have started to channel their funds into the stock market instead. In true Blue Peter style, though, they have some adults to help them.

In a classroom after the final bell, text books are shoved to one side while forms are filled in with dealing instructions and share updates. The pupils' economics teacher, Roger Scott, supervises.

Alasdair Page, aged 15, is in one of the school's two investment clubs as well as the fantasy team, which is coached by the year's competition organiser by the share ownership promoters ProShare. He said: "We saw it working well and making lots of money with the fantasy shares. There was a club last year and they did well. They increased their money by 47 per cent. I joined this year. Everybody put in an initial £30, and then every month we put in a minimum £5, but most people put in a bit more than that. "We've got about £1,800

At the moment, with £1,200 in two shares and the rest in cash. One of the pupils divides the money up, depending on what you put in, and her dad helps her." Mr Scott says: "They have decided to concentrate on areas they are interested in. They know a lot about computer games and in some cases they have got in at the beginning of companies and done very well — one share actually doubled in value." Thornden did not win one of the top three prizes, despite reporting the most profit on the nominal £20,000 that each club starts off with.

At £24,040.64, the five months' fantasy dealing put them well ahead of the eventual winner, Queen Elizabeth's School of Ashbourne, Kent, which finished with £25,954.47. The winning pupils boosted their points with a slick presentation, and a strong performance in the financial quiz.

ProShare, the body set up to promote share ownership which organised the competition, stressed there was more to investment than clocking up profit. Emma Rees, ProShare's communications executive, said the fantasy share game aimed to encourage teenagers to take an informed approach to personal finance. To this end, the company has proposed a GCSE in personal finance. And the fantasy game offered the sort of regulation which many investors might have wished existed at Barings Bank when Nick Leeson was at large. Teams were forced to create balanced portfolios covering a range of sectors.

Very few of the teenagers at Liffe this week want to dirty their hands on the dealing floor. Inverkeithing's Alexander McGregor, aged 17, summed up the general mood. "I don't think I could do that. I'd get a coronary." But most want to buy into a unit trust when they are older.

WITH its skeletal tail stretching above the assembled tables, the disdainfully down at the hundreds of bankers and government officials who early yesterday were still noisily celebrating Railtrack's successful flotation. Beside the Natural History Museum's central hall, the giant grass-eating dinosaur could have symbolised the dismemberment of Britain's state-owned railway. For it was the brave new world of market forces these champagne-fuelled guests were celebrating as they dined on parmesan wafers, sun-dried tomatoes and blood-pink lamb. (And yes, gentle taxpayers, the bill is all yours.) Or does this prehistoric co-

lossus, as one cynical BR manager joked, more appropriately symbolise the end of the Thatcherite dream of wider share-ownership? For the Railtrack sale comes as both government and the City are reassessing personal investment. If the fundamental objective of privatisation was to have built up a share-owning democracy, then this has not worked.

Furthermore, on both sides of the House, there is a general acceptance that the country can no longer afford to support Britain's rapidly ageing population. In a world of ruthless market forces and unprecedented job insecurity, there is a widespread recognition that urgent action is needed to ensure that individuals take responsibility for their own financial future.

Already Health Secretary Stephen Dorrell has opened the debate with the warning that the age of cradle-to-grave social security cover is rapidly ending. The grim message was further hammered home yesterday as Treasury Minister Angela Knight warned that people will increasingly rely on good financial advice for their quality of life as they get older. But over the next few weeks, the issue will move up the political agenda as the Treasury-supported Weinberg Committee prepares to unveil

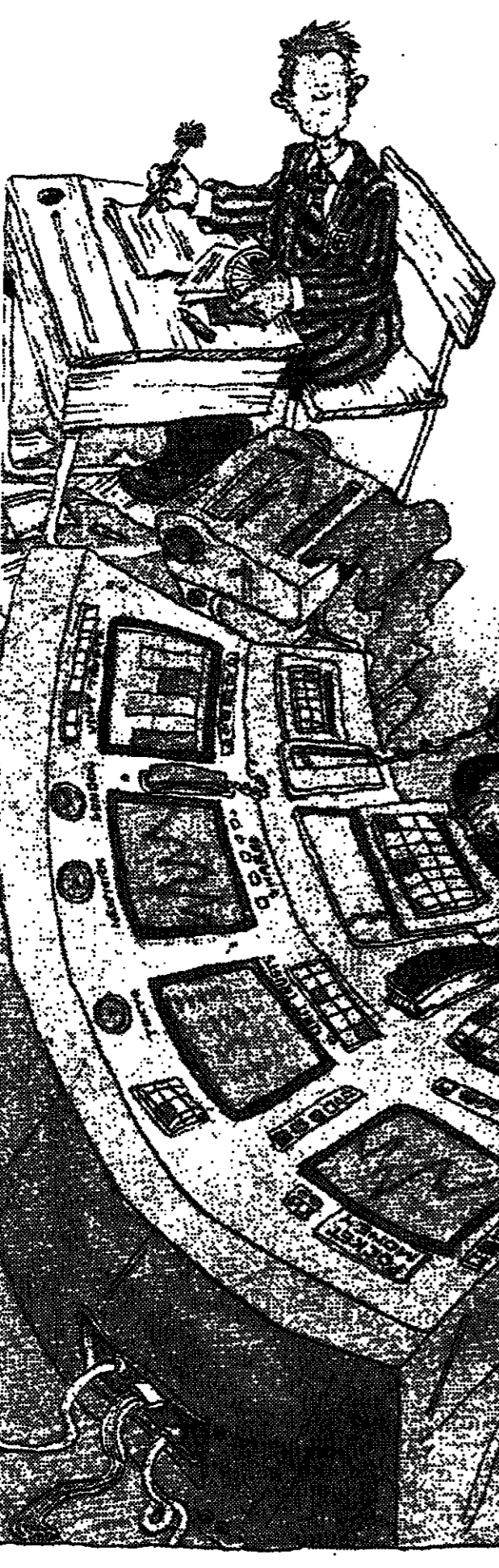
the findings of its year's study of the small investor. This Treasury-sponsored body, which includes representatives from leading City houses, has been told to look at the future of the individual shareholder. Similar studies are being carried out by regulator, Inuro. The issue arguably represents the most important socio-economic issue confronting Britain at the dawn of the new millennium. Privatisation is just part of the equation. This week's reception marked the end of the penultimate major privatisation in the sell-off process which began in earnest with the mass flotation of shares in British Telecommunications back in 1981. With many more small punters buying into Railtrack, the tally of small shareholders now exceeds 10 million. That compares to just three million people who held equities in the pre-privatisation era way back in 1979.

IMPRESSIVE? Well, Railtrack chairman Robert Horton certainly reckons so, pointing out that his mega sell-off attracted more than 600,000 punters into the fold. Yet a closer analysis shows that far from promoting the culture of wider share ownership, there has actually been a dramatic fall in the amount of the stock market controlled by small investors.

Before privatisation began, Sids controlled around 99 per cent of the entire value of the London stock market. That has now fallen to just over 20 per cent.

But what about the huge increase in the equity-owning population? Indeed, absolute numbers have grown, or at least held relatively steady over the last few years. But the

acceptance here is that this is not a fundamental survival skill as being able to read and write in a post-welfare society Britain. Youngsters must be taught to fend for themselves financially in a world where the holes in the social security safety-net are getting bigger by the year. We are not just talking about cheque-book management and building societies. Proposals suggest the children should be taught how to save in the equity market, to understand that only a stake in the stock market can help them to leverage up enough savings to provide for their future in an increasingly uncertain world. Margaret Thatcher was advocating wider share ownership on the grounds that share investors were more likely to vote Tory. Now the thinking seems to be that the electorate needs to be pushed into building up shares, pensions and other investments in order to bridge the gaps in state aid. But the debate does not stop there. Given that both Labour and the Tories are set on managing down the public sector by 20 per cent of GDP, well-placed observers point out that there will continue to be a squeeze on central government funds for essential infrastructure projects.



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Art fails to imitate life



Roger Cowe

TAKE no notice of the anguished technical debate about the state of the economy. Forget consumer spending, manufacturing output, house prices. One indicator above all others illustrates the level of feefood factor in business — extravagance of the annual report.

They all had a dreadful time immediately afterwards, making the state of the report a negative indicator of company prospects.

That is unlikely to be the case with GE Capital, the strong financial arm of General Electric of the US, which owns businesses in Britain ranging from TIP container leasing to store and credit cards. But judging by the company's annual report, published this week, the good times are here again.

It is quite up with the worst standards of the 1980s — more sales brochure than serious financial document. As always with such things, the GE report has a spurious theme, which means that most of the book is filled with pretty pictures unrelated to the group's business. In this case the theme is art, on the basis that "the business of every art is to bring something into existence", as the front cover declares, adding the non sequitur: "Our business is helping yours."

tomorrow's often unclear challenges". Mr Wendt adds that the group's artistic techniques are value, service and productivity.

It is certainly "uncommon" to regard value, service or productivity as techniques of any kind. But the bulk of the document is concerned with illustrating how GE brought these "techniques" to its customers.

Such case studies are usually boring, which perhaps explains why they are used merely as fillers between the art. But they are more meaningful than the pretentious comments on the art — the notion that AI Field's complex systems "reveal truths that are valuable to mankind and show that art can be a metaphor for contemporary life", or that a pile of TV screens can "imagine technology".

Quick Crossword No 8135

Across
1 The latest (4,5,4)
8 The Merchant of Venice (7)
9 Trioxigen (5)
10 Place (only fit) for rubbish (4)
11 Ratio of intelligence (8)
13 Drum (3-3)
14 Paper size (6)
17 Fair, generous, and a good loser (8)
19 Arabian sultanate (4)
21 Lengthwise or together (5)
22 Co-extensive part (7)
24 Its opposite sides are equal (13)

Down
1 Expanse of water (3)
2 The best (7)

3 Boat — Irish money (4)
4 Departure (6)
5 Means of saving time or effort (5,3)
6 Cell forth (5)
7 Maize (5,4)
10 Past mated (anag) (4,5)
12 European country (8)
16 Country walker or roe (7)

16 Forty winks (5)
18 Smell (5)
20 Nought (4)
23 Briton in Oz (3)

22 Stuck? Then call our solutions line on 0800 1 333 2448. Calls cost 39p per min. Cheapest rate. 49p per min at all other times. Service supplied by AT5

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London Telephone 0171-278 2332 Fax 0171-278 2114, 1071-833 2342, Telexgrams 0171-511 5100

Manchester Telephone 0161-882 7200, Fax 0161-833 5351/834 9717, Telexgrams 0161-834 9586

Handwritten signature: J. J. J. J. J.